Critical Studies in Heritage, Emotion and Affect

HERITAGE IS MOVEMENT

HERITAGE MANAGEMENT AND RESEARCH IN A DIVERSE AND PLURAL WORLD

Tod Jones

ROUTLEDGE

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Heritage is Movement

This book presents new ways of understanding heritage and heritage work. It addresses the ways physical processes of creation, maintenance and decay are entangled with cultural and political processes of management, access and care.

The book analyzes a critical practice of heritage work oriented to recognizing and collaborating with diverse knowledge holders and their practices of caring for heritage. This requires rethinking accepted heritage concepts, such as heritage management, artifact, site and the definition of heritage itself. The book presents an engaging and applied approach to this task through examples that include Majapahit statues and temples in Indonesia, skating in London, an online heritage movement, building bivouacs in Australia, First Nations advocacy for Country and batik collections in the Netherlands.

Offering a new model for collaborative heritage research and analysis, this book will be of interest to researchers, students and practitioners. Drawing from developments from the posthumanities, cultural geography and critical heritage studies, it presents a collaborative mode of scholarship and writing that considers how people care for and use the things history leaves them.

Tod Jones is an Associate Professor in Geography in the School of Design and Built Environment, Curtin University. He has worked on cultural policy and heritage issues in Indonesia and Australia since 1999. His current research brings cultural and political geography concepts and tools in dialogue with heritage concepts and frameworks to issues of heritage management. He has worked with Aboriginal communities across Western Australia on community cultural development initiatives, and with heritage groups in Java and Sumatra in Indonesia. He has published two books: *Culture, power and authoritarianism in the Indonesian state* (2013) and a co-authored collection with Ali Mozaffari, *Heritage movements in Asia* (2020). He has published articles in the leading heritage studies journals, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, *Heritage and Society*, and *International Journal of Cultural Policy*. Altogether he has been leading author or a contributor on 29 peer-reviewed journal articles and 11 book chapters. His research on Indonesian cultural policy was debated in the Indonesian parliament and influenced the new national cultural policy legislation.

Critical Studies in Heritage, Emotion and Affect

In Memory of Professor Steve Watson (1958–2016)

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This book series, edited by Divya P. Tolia-Kelly and Emma Waterton, is dedicated to Professor Steve Watson. Steve was a pioneer in heritage studies and was inspirational in both our personal academic trajectories. We, as three editors of the series, started this journey together, but alas we lost his magnificent scholarship and valued counsel too soon.

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Heritage is Movement

Heritage Management and Research in a Diverse and Plural World

Tod Jones

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Introduction

Heritage, movement and the care of precious things

Tod Jones

Heritage endures and exists because of movement. The movement of conservators removes cracks, marks, dust, bugs and spiders. The movement of sculptors shapes statues. The movement of tectonic plates forms stone.

Heritage is movement in configuration. The stone has its characteristics due to the configuration of heat and pressure. The sculptor understands and configures his movement to the stone, knows its qualities and tendencies. The spider resides in a crevice. The conservator or caretaker understands the statue's historical importance and the effects of deterioration and treats it accordingly. To be shaped and endure, these movements exist in a careful configuration and the characteristics of past configurations are carried forward. Heritage is configured by intuitions, feelings, affect and emotional connections along with conventions and policies.

Heritage is movement in configuration with its environment. So many movements configure heritage, like any phenomenon, that it is best to think of all of the environment that surrounds a heritage phenomenon as contributing to its characteristics and endurance. Thinking of heritage in this way also acknowledges how heritage, due to its importance to people and places, shapes and sustains its environment just as it is sustained by its environment.

Approach and purpose

The definition of heritage and approach I develop in this book contributes to an exciting set of developments in heritage studies. While challenges to heritage management are coming from a variety of groups and locations, the impact is an opening up of heritage studies to new relationships, experiences and response-abilities. The most visible and pressing challenge to heritage is from social movements and groups who are pushing heritage to address its structural and historical alignment with colonial power structures. Indigenous custodians and advocates are challenging heritage management and research to address their relationships and management practices (Harrison and Rose 2010; HCOANZ 2020; Tolia-Kelly and Raymond 2019; Victorian Traditional Owners 2021). Black and decolonial social movements are challenging the institutionalized racism of historical monuments and heritage practices (Abraham 2021; Fryer et al. 2021).

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The ethical imperative for heritage studies to be able to collaborate appropriately with plural communities and movements is a driver of new approaches that reveal a richer and more diverse set of heritage experiences and practices. Research into emotion and effect have sought to broaden the scope of heritage practice and research while also challenging divisions with heritage studies (Tolia-Kelly, Waterton and Watson 2016). The power of heritage things to compel and move people, to be part of their constitution, opens opportunities to consider the plural ways heritage is experienced, maintained and managed (Robertson 2015; Tolia-Kelly, Waterton and Watson 2016, 4). Other approaches are using networks or assemblages to reveal and unpack new dimensions in how heritage functions due to its relationships with technologies, institutions and other things (examined in Chapter 3).[1]

This book responds to the challenge to rethink heritage in ways that are open to multiple worldviews and sources of authority. A central insight is that the very things that give heritage its physical shape and locate it are what generates its emotional force and connection. I argue that heritage research and management need a new definition of heritage and a more precise understanding of what heritage is and how it endures. Heritage management and research requires this perspective to appreciate the importance of heritage to politics as well as the intense emotions (joy, rage, peace) people can feel in its presence and the overwhelming sensations (loss, elation, emptiness) felt at its parting. Achieving this goal redraws the boundaries and reorganizes the power structures of what we consider heritage and heritage management.

Heritage is much more than how states and institutions manage objects and places considered to be historically important. Heritage is the care of precious things, by individuals, groups, organizations and other species. I follow Joan Tronto's generic definition of care as "everything that we do to maintain, continue and repair 'our world' … That world includes our bodies, our selves and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex, life sustaining web" (Tronto 1993, 103). Following Maria Puig de la Bellacasa (2012), valuing care requires recognition of interdependencies and a constant fostering if we are to understand and engage with sustainable and flourishing relationships. Caring is hard. It requires critical thought, difficult choices and constant work. There are different ways, or regimes, of caring that can coexist or clash.

Precious in this book means beloved, dear, cherished. The Latin root is *pretiosus* meaning valuable, but I do not refer to monetary value. Heritage is precious because of its role in binding people, knowledge, other species, things, forces and emotions together. Importantly, this is not precious as identified through assessments of significance, but because its bonds enable endurance and strength. Focusing on the care of precious things recognizes and engages with the expansion of heritage, its complexity and its connections.

Heritage work is very broad and varied, and we all do it when we care for precious things or visit heritage phenomena. As such, this book reconsiders what heritage is, and who manages it. This is a vital shift (discussed in detail throughout the book) as contemporary heritage management will be required to respond to decolonization initiatives and anticolonial critiques of heritage institutions and orientations that have their origins in the imperial aims of European powers (discussed in Chapters 4–7).

Heritage studies need to develop the capacity to recognize and collaborate with diverse knowledge holders and their place-based practices (develop multi-epistemic literacies) or it will not be able to respond to these communities.

This book is the beginning of a broader project to make heritage studies the study of the care of precious things. This long-term objective requires consideration of all of the dimensions of connection required for precious things to endure, including its emotional and affective dimensions. It would make heritage research essential for addressing pressing problems such as the losses caused by environmental and economic change and how to address them. The practical skills and understandings developed in museums and heritage precincts need to now be developed in alliances to address the effects of climate change, colonialism and capitalism. The rest of this book provides the critical tools and concepts to support this approach, first through discussion of principles and a critical account of approaches to heritage, and then through empirical research.

I am committed to methods that give attention to a fuller range of heritage practices and, therefore, need to interrogate imperial and mainstream histories and analyze the affective and emotional tissue that connects and sustains heritage. This commitment locates my work within Critical Heritage Studies and connects it to previous interrogations of heritage, including *Theatres of Memory* (Samuel 1994), David C. Harvey's (2001) 'Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents', *Uses of Heritage* (Smith 2006) and *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (Harrison 2013). My approach here is aligned to Iain Robertson's (2012, 2015) approach to heritage from below. Like Robertson, I seek to be a good ally to people who are maintaining fragile, emergent and redemptive opportunities for their families and groups and to work with them where they want to generate and grow livelihoods through engagements with heritage phenomena. I also seek an approach that has the capacity to address a fuller range of affective, ecological and historical relationships because this is how heritage research can contribute to efforts to ethically address the complex problems of our contemporary world. This book is for people who are seeking a focus on "what remains and what people are left with" from history (Stoler 2008, 211) and what people do with these remains.

Realizing

I know the moment I began to question my approach to heritage. I was interviewing Steven, a hotel manager in a town next to the Ningaloo Coast World Heritage area in Western Australia, about the locally controversial World Heritage listing process. I was asking Steven about coastal management when he exclaimed angrily that the coast was already "stuffed" and told me what happened to his favorite coastal camping site. This campsite was small and well protected from the often-strong winds by sand dunes but was wrecked when another group jammed three tents into a space suitable for just one and walked all over the dunes causing erosion. While he, like most locals, did not have strong feelings either for or against the World Heritage listing, Steven clearly felt very strongly about this camping site and was missing it. I realized then that neither our research on the listing process and events, nor the official World Heritage nomination that explained how the Ningaloo Coast

was special, recognized or engaged with locals' important and sensitive relationships with their heritage and their expectations for its management.

The nomination document for the Ningaloo Coast World Heritage area is a remarkable study of the 25 million year evolution and management of the Ningaloo Reef, a fringing coral reef over 350 kilometers long off the coast of Western Australia (DEWHA 2010). However, it considers humans only to the degree that they threaten the reef. Like most object-oriented approaches, the nomination focused on conserving heritage through understanding its history and materials and setting rules about maintenance, repair and appropriate future uses. The simple critique of object-oriented approaches is that they ignore people's diverse connections and uses of heritage or make them secondary to conservation. When applied, they often separate heritage from the different communities who access and use it, leading to broken relationships and grief. It also ignores the warning of George Orwell's (1965) maxim: "He [sic] who controls the past controls the future. He who controls the present controls the past." There is no critical consideration of the politics of the heritage and the uneven social, economic and environmental effects of heritage management decisions.

The critical response to the object-orientation of much heritage management has been to focus on the process through which heritage is identified and maintained (Carter et al. 2020). Process-oriented approaches seek to interrogate the political and ethical dimensions of the creation and maintenance of heritage. They are critical of the top-down operation of most heritage processes and the way they place power over and decision-making about heritage in the hands of "heritage experts" at the expense of community members and other people who have strong relationships with the heritage in question (Smith 2006). The focus is on *how* heritage is formed. Process-oriented approaches consider heritage to be a form of cultural production and communication. I was involved with a group of researchers who were pursuing a process-oriented analysis of how the Ningaloo Coast World Heritage listing transpired from local perspectives and accounts. We documented the process through which different groups and organizations supported or opposed the World Heritage listing and the kinds of outcomes and relationships they were trying to achieve (our account of this process can be found in Jones, Jones and Hughes (2016)).

I now think there are two problems with process-oriented approaches, and both stem from their understanding of heritage as a form of cultural production and communication. The first problem is that the cultural processes of heritage production are often viewed in isolation from the rest of the processes that shape heritage things. There are many other processes that shape heritage. There are community uses and practices, which should often be seen as alternative forms of management and their emotional and affective relationships sustained by and with their important places. Then there are the physical forces of wind, rain and erosion that demand continuing attention and the other species of animals and plants that also inhabit and make use of the heritage. Understanding heritages' entanglements requires moving beyond cultural production and communication and toward a more complete accounting of these processes. This fuller accounting is required if we are to understand how heritage is the physical consequence of the bonds between people, the past, other species, practices, politics and ethics among other things.

The second problem is that process-oriented approaches start with official or authorized heritage processes, then assert alternatives that contest these processes. I now think that this is the wrong starting point. Instead, we should start with the relationships that shape and maintain heritage in whatever form it takes and understand these relationships as central not just to heritage approaches but to the heritage itself. This entails a rethinking of what heritage is and reviewing whose perspectives matter. If Steven's experiences of Ningaloo Reef are entangled in his camping site as much as the reef itself, and this is the case for other residents and visitors, should resident use and management of coastal camps be considered in heritage research and management? If the official or authorized intervention is only one of many ways of changing or maintaining the entanglements that support heritage and generally is imposed in ways that displace different knowledges and regimes, it should not be the starting point for how to understand or define heritage.

In this book, I articulate an approach to heritage that moves past the object-process and other binaries and focuses instead on what makes heritage precious. Physical, spiritual, economic, affective and emotional connections are all inseparably part of the configuration of heritage with its environment and are what binds it to communities and individuals. Understanding heritage as movement prioritizes these connections as they are integral to its creation and endurance.

Heritage phenomena and heritage processes

Heritage today has a very broad meaning and attempts to organize it have led to many categorizations. Dividing heritage things into typologies, which is necessary and useful in some circumstances, is not useful for my goal of unifying heritage approaches and categories. However, the term heritage is regularly used to refer both to heritage things and defined as a process, which presents problems for clear and precise analysis. To avoid this confusion, I use the term heritage phenomenon to refer to a thing that could appear on a heritage list or be the subject of preservation. Heritage phenomena can, for example, be a physical form (such as a mountain or coral reef), precincts, buildings, objects or practices such as dances, rituals or storytelling. Heritage processes are the full range of processes that maintain and dissolve heritage phenomena. It includes wind, rain, bugs, cleaning techniques, local uses, military skirmishes and freak events alongside ceremonies, conservation techniques and spatial planning.

Heritage phenomena are always changing and are both constituted from and held together by heritage processes. For instance, a heritage house is a phenomenon. Closer inspection reveals constant processes of decay and care that occur because it is used and valued. My house binds together values regarding my family and friends, aesthetic choices, years of cleaning and gardening and events in our lives from the life changing (new babies) to the mundane (cleaning gutters) and intense emotional connections. If we focus on the walls, the paint is marked by dirty hands and spiders' webs, worn away by cleaning and scrapes and they require repainting every ten years or so. I changed three roof tiles recently after a stream of water came down the inside of the kitchen window. A house is sustained because we live in it,

and so our lives are part of the processes that bring together its parts and ensure its survival. Houses are also part of streets and neighborhoods, so they contribute to and sustain larger entities. This way of understanding heritage, through what geographer David Harvey (1996) calls dialectic thinking, informs and indeed pervades this book. It follows a tradition in process philosophy that was further developed by Alfred North Whitehead (1953, 1978) in the twentieth century and more recently by Tim Ingold (2011). While I do not delve into its rich history as my focus is on heritage rather than philosophy, I acknowledge my debt to this way of thinking.

The structure of *Heritage is Movement*

I originally conceived this book as being both about a new approach to heritage and about heritage in Indonesia. As I wrote the book, it became apparent that the book is primarily about an approach to heritage. I needed to draw from my experiences with my family, other people's research and my research in Australia, as well as collaborations with Indonesian colleagues. There is still a focus on Indonesia as many of the longer case-study chapters draw from my research in Indonesia. However, the materials now also draw from my experiences in Australia and my engagements with other people's work.

The first three chapters in this book explain my approach to heritage and why I define heritage as movement in configuration with an environment. The first chapter presents three principles for centering an enlivened and engaged heritage in heritage management and research. I explore these principles through my experiences with building bivouacs with my children in Australia.

Chapter 2 is a short rereading of the work of Rebecca Madgin and her colleagues (2018) about a very special skateboarding spot, the Undercroft in London. While heritage models and concepts struggle to articulate skate heritage, I demonstrate the usefulness of the three principles I propose in Chapter 1.

Chapter 3 uses a dialogue between the writings of heritage researcher and archaeologist Dennis Byrne and anthropologist and philosopher Tim Ingold to elaborate on the principles in Chapter 1. This chapter explains my position through a critical engagement with heritage studies literature. It is a more detailed explanation of why a new approach to heritage is needed and the approach I advocate.

The rest of the book presents a series of empirical case studies that apply the principles from the first three chapters and develop a toolkit of aligned concepts. These chapters provide models for heritage analysis and demonstrate how the approach explained in the first three chapters can be applied to different heritage fields and circumstances. It intersperses longer chapters that use case studies of heritage in Indonesia and Australia with shorter illustrative chapters from other places.

Chapter 4 is an explanation of scale based on my research with Roy Jones and Michael Hughes on the Ningaloo Coast in Western Australia (Jones et al. 2016). Scale is a crucial tool as it reveals how contests, politics and ethics shape flows of resources and so become inseparable from the physical form of heritage phenomenon and demonstrates the links between physical, human and non-human forces that shape heritage.

Chapters 5 and 6 are co-written with Adrian Perkasa from Airlangga University in Surabaya. They address the relationships of residents in Trowulan in East Java, Indonesia with artifacts (Chapter 4) and sites (Chapter 5). They explore the rich local relationships with Majapahit heritage and how heritage's postcolonial legacies can be transformed through local people's uses and engagements. They also demonstrate how official and academic understandings of heritage work, often unconsciously, displace and marginalize resident relationships and plans.

Chapter 7 is co-written with Badimia academic and activist Carol Dowling and is about her experiences advocating for Badimia people and Barna (Badimia lands) in Western Australia. We engage with the concept of cultural landscapes to unpack the many problems of settler colonial approaches to Aboriginal heritage and what a cultural landscape approach would require in a settler colonial society to have a chance of addressing the structural and historical issues through ethical and appropriate Aboriginal heritage management.

Chapter 8, co-written with Transpiosa Riomandha and Hairus Salim, analyzes how social media shifts engagements with heritage landscapes through a case study of Bol Brutu, a heritage movement based around a Facebook group in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. It explores how new technologies shift our focus and movements and subsequently shape historic landscapes in new ways. Chapter 9 is Transpiosa Riomandha's photographic essay of a Bol Brutu road trip to Cirebon that informs, illustrates and exceeds the analysis of Chapter 8.

Chapter 10 interrogates the role of museums in the ongoing and far-reaching effects of the process of heritagization. The regimes of value that museums have shaped and, in many cases, continue to defend have ongoing material effects on the skilled practitioners who hold heritage knowledge. Using the example of batik, I demonstrate how its heritagization has shaped not just batik cloth but the conditions of batik workers over generations and the neighborhoods where batik is produced. Importantly, the chapter explains how heritage processes have contributed to concealing the skill of batik artisans and their gendered exploitation over many decades.

Heritage is Movement does not provide detailed information on research methods in these chapters as not all readers will have an interest in research methods, and discussion of methods can disrupt the flow of reading a chapter. Appendix addresses this shortfall through providing a little more detail, information on interviews that inform different chapters, and references to other publications that have longer descriptions and explanations of our research methods.

Note

1 The concept of assemblages is drawn from the philosopher Giles Deleuze (Deleuze and Parnet 2002, 69) and can be summarized as sets of relations among institutions, objects, people and technologies that facilitate the circulation of objects and people and confer on them attributes in different situations. Networks refer to actor-network theory (ANT) within the work of Bruna Latour (Latour 2005). Tolia-Kelly, Waterton and Watson (2016) and Harrison (2018) provide overviews of how these approaches are being used in critical heritage studies.

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1 Making bivouacs, sustaining heritage

How heritage is movement in configuration with an environment

Tod Jones

> 'Heritage' is a nomadic term, which travels easily, and puts down roots – or bivouacs – in seemingly quite unpromising terrain.
>
> (Raphael Samuel 1994, *Theatres of Memory*, p. 205)

Bivouacs mess with the categories that managers and researchers use to organize heritage. Bivouacs are temporary shelters made mainly from local materials, in rural and urban environments, although I focus on rural bivouacs here. They are made from sand in deserts and on beaches, from branches and leaves in forests and from snow in cold climates. Once a common practice but only occasionally built today, rural bivouacs are still valued by many people and groups from around the world. So why do these bivouacs confound the categories that people commonly use to think about heritage?

I start with the division in UNESCO's World Heritage list between natural and cultural heritage. Bivouacs are intimately bound up with *nature*, or the ecology of their locations, yet are clearly products of human ingenuity and *culture*. UNESCO has different programs for *intangible* heritage, which focuses on practices, representations, expressions, knowledge and skills, and *tangible* heritage, which assesses objects, sites and landscapes. Bivouacs are clearly tangible things but are shaped by intangible skillsets that are much longer lasting than the bivouac itself.

Then there is the division between heritage approaches that are centered on conserving *objects* and those that focus on the social *processes* that shape heritage. While bivouacs are objects, they are so temporary that they require a constant process of upkeep and are clearly products of other processes, such as plants growing and dropping leaves and branches, and humans moving across and engaging with landscapes. Heritage research often differentiates between *residents*, who live with heritages and tend to be deeply familiar with them, and *visitors* who travel to see them. The bivouac is made by visitors who are passing through a place but is also a home that requires the familiarity, knowledge and expertise of a resident, however temporary. Another way of judging heritage is whether it is considered *authentic*. While possessing styles, bivouacs defy authenticity. Bivouacs are always authentic due to their close ties to where they are made, and always inauthentic in that no two bivouacs are the same as each is made with and for its immediate location.

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These confounding characteristics of bivouacs are why I have chosen them as a means of introducing the driving mission of this book: to find ways of thinking past these binaries in heritage management and research.[1] Too often these categories obscure rather than open the characteristics and relationships that make heritage precious (which I explain in more detail in Chapter 3). This chapter presents three principles that center on an enlivened and engaged heritage in heritage management and research. I explore these principles through my experiences with building bivouacs with my children in Australia. To be effective, these principles need to be as relevant to heritage sites, museum exhibitions and large heritage programs as they are to the heritage that we shape and keep for ourselves and our loved ones. As I mentioned in the Introduction, the second chapter is a short demonstration of these principles using skateboarding heritage, and the third chapter elaborates on my approach through critically engaging with heritage studies literature.

My quest to build and sleep in bivouacs was prompted by my friend Ed. In 1990, when he was aged 14, and growing up in Birmingham in England, Ed joined the Senior Scouts and began attending Scout camps. The leaders of Ed's Scout group were ex-military and had a philosophy of leaving nothing behind when they went camping, which was four times a year. Ed was deeply impressed on one of his first camps when an older Scout built a bivouac and slept in it overnight. This was the start of Ed's interest in building debris shelters. A decade later, Ed met and then married an Australian and moved to Perth where I live. Ed brought his interest in bivouacs to Australia and began building them with his two sons from when they were two years old. Our families regularly go on camping trips together, and his boys began to build bivouacs with my two slightly younger sons (see Ed and our children in Figure 1.1). Late in 2017, I caught the bivouac bug.

Figure 1.1 Ed, his two sons and my two sons on a camping trip in Margaret River, Western Australia in 2018. Photograph by author.

Principle 1: Prioritize the relationship between a heritage phenomenon and its immediate environment

Since it is a much-used term, defining environment carefully is fundamental to my first principle. While the way I use environment includes the ecosystems that support and shape plants and animals, it also includes buildings, technologies, physical forces, visits and indeed anything in sufficient proximity to a heritage phenomenon to influence it in some way, however small. I follow the anthropologist-philosopher Tim Ingold (2000, 20) here in understanding environment as being relative to the person, animal or thing under consideration. This is why I use the term "immediate environment," meaning the environment that is immediate to a heritage phenomenon. Hence, I am advocating for a place-based approach to heritage.

A bivouac's immediate environment has many determinants. Starting at a vast scale, the requirements of living in a particular climate and the ecology of that environment determine the materials and design of the bivouac. Figure 1.2 provides examples of bivouacs from different climate regions. The forest bivouac is the most appropriate type for the area around Perth, which is in a Mediterranean forest biome. Biomes are broad descriptions of ecologies that characterize large areas and are used to make global comparisons of biological environments. Australia's warming

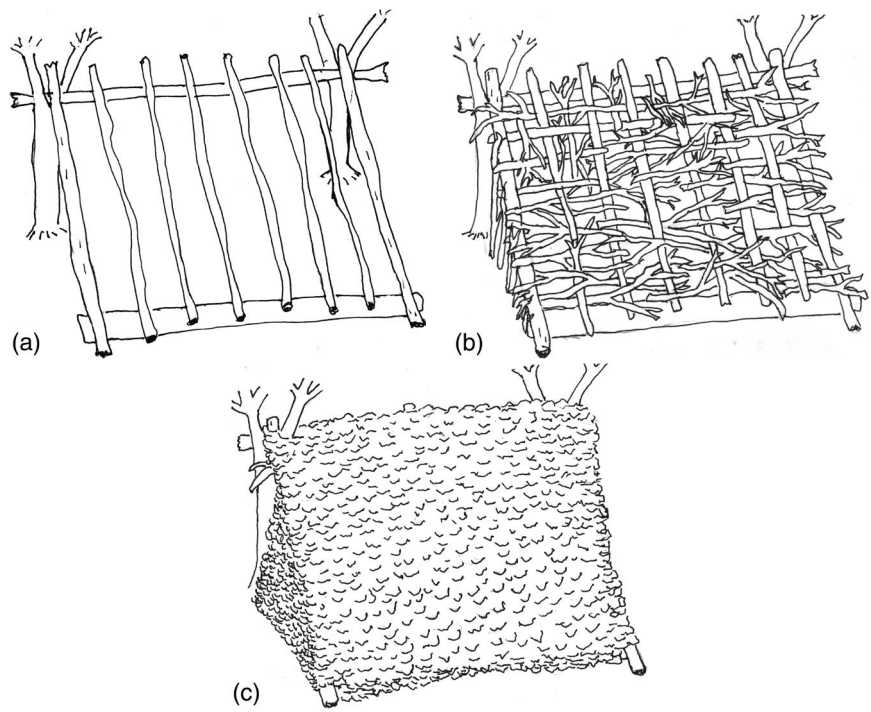

Figure 1.2 A basic diagram of how to build a forest bivouac: (a) the basic frame; (b) thatching to create a roof; and (c) covering the structure with branches, moss, leaves and other debris depending on the ecology of the bivouac's location. Sketch by the author.

climate, over many millions of years, has led to the dominance of eucalyptus forests. Western Australia is separated from the eastern states by large deserts, so the local plants have evolved along different paths from those of the rest of Australia. Within the southwest corner, where I live and camp, Noongar traditional owners used fire regimes that have also shaped local ecologies for at least 65,000 years. Then there are local differences due to soil types, micro-climates and the availability of water. The natural resources for bivouacs are site-specific, and the product of an ongoing process of millions of years of co-evolution.

Site management also influences the qualities of bivouacs. On a morning during the school holidays in January 2018, I took my two boys to Booyeembara Park to build a bivouac. Booyeembara Park is a mid-sized regional park in suburban Perth that includes patches of eucalyptus forest. It is surrounded on two sides by residential housing and on the other two sides by a golf course. Much of the forest is fenced off, so we were pushed to the edge of the park on a steep slope leading up to the golf course. While we were not stopped from building a bivouac, our choice of site (shown in Figure 1.3) and access to materials were constrained by the spatial management of the park. These restrictions become obvious when you compare the site in Booyeembara Park to the site of our next bivouac in Mount Trio campsite (Figure 1.4). Mount Trio campsite is approximately 350 kilometers southeast of Perth on the edge of the Stirling Ranges National Park, an area of bushland of over 1000 square kilometers. While the debris on the ground in Figure 1.4 alone

Figure 1.3 Building a bivouac with my two sons in Booyeembara Park, Perth. Photograph by Tod Jones.

Figure 1.4 Building a bivouac with my two sons in Mount Trio Bush Camp on the edge of the Stirling Ranges, Western Australia. Photograph by Tod Jones.

demonstrates the difference, we also had a variety of sites to choose from, and a much wider variety of trees to use at Mount Trio. Despite taking less time to construct, the Mount Trio bivouac was a better shelter than the Booyeembara Park bivouac. When looking up from under a bivouac, you should not be able to see any light since this indicates the bivouac is not watertight. As you can see in Figure 1.5, my son could get sun burn in the Booyeembara Park bivouac.

Like my bivouacs, all heritage phenomena, be they places, objects or practices, are shaped by their immediate environment, since this environment is what sustains them. This holds for both the creation of heritage, and the reproduction of the place-based knowledges that sustain it. While a heritage phenomenon can be moved from one environment to another and be maintained in some form, it is an illusion to think that the heritage phenomenon remains the same. Wherever it is, heritage is in such a close relationship with its immediate environment that they should be considered coupled together. Relocating heritage items from outside to inside institutions, like museums and galleries, is complicated by their relationships to their past environments to the extent that such changes are often incredibly painful or difficult for the people, and disruptive for the places, that were part of their previous environments. Emotional and affective connections are essential to the existence of heritage and its care. I am not anti-development as such. Changing and adapting heritage is crucial to its creative and life-affirming uses. However, these changes need to be made in ways that account for existing relationships, minimize their unraveling and weigh the pain of loss against the relationships formed in the new environment.

Figure 1.5 My son in the Booyeembara Park bivouac. Photograph by Tod Jones.

Principle 2: Heritage is movement in configuration with an environment

Heritage is not just about the environment but about the movement of living and non-living things through that environment. These are the forces that both bind and dissolve heritage. My bivouacs, when left unattended, are subject to the forces of wind and rain that contribute to their unraveling and their return to the forest. Ants, beetles and other creatures will investigate and maybe inhabit the bivouac for a time but, without my attention to the roof and structure, they also contribute to its dissolution. For the bivouac to retain its distinctiveness, it needs a human inhabitant who maintains a configuration whereby leaves, sticks and other materials are added to it to counter the forces that break it down. The bivouac is in constant movement in configuration with its environment.

This principle provides my definition of heritage. Heritage is movement in configuration with an environment. It draws attention to two fundamental characteristics

of heritage that contest contemporary understandings. First, heritage is defined not as an object or discursive process, but as a cluster of movements as it is constantly in flux. This is the case for all phenomena. Everything that exists can be conceived in this way. As everything is constituted by movement, what distinguishes heritage from other phenomena? Heritage is a movement of lives and forces (heritage processes) where the configuration of phenomena with its environment is entwined with the retention of history, memory and community.

This brings me to the second characteristic of heritage: the configuration between heritage and its environment determines both its characteristics and its continued existence. This explains the importance of place-based knowledges and approaches to heritage, and the importance of heritage to places and their people. A change in an environment will impact heritage, and the presence of heritage can configure the environment around it. In the case of living things, configuration is shaped by perception, which is influenced by knowledge and skill. While wind and rain lack perception in their engagements with my bivouacs, the extent of my knowledge and skill determines the capacity of my bivouacs to withstand their movements. My best effort so far was the bivouac built in Mount Trio (see Figure 1.6). The key skills were the choice of site, materials and my use of a hatchet (a small axe) to cut larger branches to size. I experimented, with limited success, with different types of smaller branches to stop leaf litter falling through the top of the shelter. A few weeks after I returned to Perth, I met a man who, in a 30-minute conversation, helped me realize my deficiencies.

Leonard is a Noongar man who works with an eco-education center near Curtin University where I work. Noongar people have been building bivouacs and huts

Figure 1.6 The bivouac built in Mount Trio Bush Camp. Photograph by Tod Jones.

Figure 1.7 (a) and (b) Leonard and the miniature Noongar donga. Photographs by the author.

(called dongas in Noongar) from local materials for thousands of generations, and Leonard is a keeper of bushcraft and knowledge. He told me to build shelters facing away from the southeast where the wind comes from as this creates a vacuum that will draw the heat from the fire outside the bivouac into the shelter. He explained (putting back my motivation to sleep in one of my bivouacs for six months) how Noongar people clean debris away and sweep around their shelters so that they can see the tracks of the animals that enter and hopefully leave. This is particularly important in Western Australia due to the presence of poisonous snakes. Leonard's small demonstration donga (see Figure 1.7) demonstrates the importance of knowledge and skill in configuring heritage-environment relationships in ways that lead to successful shelters. While these are more permanent structures than my bivouacs, it is worth noting the use of reeds, string made from bark and paperbark (from melaleuca trees) to craft watertight, insulated shelters. Simply put, Leonard's skilled interaction with, and understanding of, the material flows of the southwest of Australia produces more effective, sturdier, safer and prettier shelters.

The terms of the configurations between heritage and environment are set by the capacities of people, animals and things to engage with the movements around them. Heritage generally results from a skilled interaction with an environment during the event of its creation, but it also requires continued environmental interactions for it to endure. Heritage then also has the capacity to configure the environment around it. Following Rachel Hunt's (2018) writing on living skillfully in remote huts in Scotland, heritage can also generate skills, or the capacities that are required for its renewal (what Hunt calls affordances), due to the combining of people, places and events. Emotions and affect are always part of these configurations,

just as our bodies and dispositions guide us when using an axe or choosing a branch (Woodward and Lea 2010).

These points are more simply made through considering what would happen to my Mt Trio bivouac if it were to be moved to a museum. Both forest and museum environments require skilled interactions and place-based knowledge to maintain the bivouac, but the skillsets required are vastly different. The flows of resources and relationships that support these material flows are also radically different. My skills in choosing a site and materials and bringing them together within a sturdy bivouac would be replaced with the conservator's skilled maintenance of materials, and the family relationships and friendships on camping trips that support my practice are vastly different to the processes of the state and privately sponsored museums and galleries where such conservation work is practiced. Of course, it is far more likely that one of Leonard's bivouacs would be moved to a museum. In the case of Leonard's inheritance of Noongar knowledge, the contrast of different skillsets, relationships and flows of resources would be even starker.

Principle 3: The politics and ethics of a heritage configuration affect the phenomenon and its environment

Stories are essential for heritage. Stories direct our movements and sharpen our perceptions through deepening our understandings. Stories are also where we find the politics and ethics of heritage. For instance, my bivouacs are very much undertaken with my two children, generally on holidays, in order to have cultural-ecological experiences with what Australians call the bush. We pay attention to and reflect on the geography, history and ecology of where we are building the bivouacs. Many of these stories direct attention to the geological and human history of the place we are in (I am a geographer!). The stories remind us what is required from a site for a bivouac, and then the process and elements of a good shelter. I also talk to my boys about how to safely use some simple tools, like a hatchet, and let them have a go. Our interactions and the stories are an inheritance from Ed's engagement with Scouts. The approaches of Scouts to bivouacs and the outdoors inform both our methods, and the kinds of actions and interactions that are appropriate and inappropriate while we make our bivouacs.

The political and ethical importance of stories becomes clearer still if I compare my bivouacs to survivalist bivouacs. While both Scouts and survivalists aim for well-built bivouacs, they foster very different configurations with their environments. A survivalist tends to carry a minimal amount with them, relying on their knowledge and skill to create shelter and gather food. I bring the city with me in a jam-packed Nissan four-wheel drive so full I need a basket on top of the car to fit my comfortable camping mattress and huge, family-size tent (see Figure 1.8). While this fits with Scout stories, the amount of stuff I bring would be a poor fit with survivalist stories. Our food differs. Celebrity survivalist Ray Mears and Jane Hunter (1997, 224) write "Most insects, except those with a hard carapace, like beetles, can be eaten raw." While survivalists tend to seek isolated locations for their bivouacs, I am happy to build mine in campgrounds. The most jarring

Figure 1.8 The huge three-room tent we stayed in while camping in 2018. Photograph by Tod Jones.

difference is the hyper-masculinity of some (but by no means all) survivalist stories. While some of this is present in television shows by the likes of Bear Grylls and Ray Mears, it reaches another level online. One YouTube video I watched referred to a tent support that was "rammed in hard like a one-night stand." This version of masculinity would be out of place in the practices of constructing my family-oriented bivouacs.

Comparing my bivouacs with survivalist bivouacs draws attention to their different politics and ethics, and how these two ways of building support very different values. It is important to recognize that these values are tied up with different forms of heritage. The desire of living beings to perpetuate values and relationships is part of what is communicated in stories, guides perceptions and movements and is therefore what guarantees the ongoing presence of heritage. These configurations are often assessed popularly, and at times in academic research, through the notion of authenticity. Like criticism of replicas of statues in museums or using new window frames in heritage buildings, whether a heritage phenomenon is labeled fake or authentic points to the importance of broader organizing principles. Scouting, survivalism and heritage all include and exclude practices, people, species and things. Because authenticity refers to the extent to which a set of practices are followed, rather than critically examining the practices themselves, it is a poor way of assessing the ways in which practices, people, species and things are classified as acceptable or appropriate, and what should be done about this. Authenticity tends to assume that practices are set, and it does not directly interrogate politics or reasoning.

Heritage workers and researchers need tools that interrogate the specific ways practices and presences are judged to be in or out of place. In Chapter 3, I suggest that we use the concept of scale (explored further in Chapter 4) to understand and analyze these broader sets of relations. Consideration of these scales that connect people and places and facilitate flows of attention and resources should not only be applied to other people's practices. Researchers and managers are always engaged in making, reinforcing and, at times, challenging the scales that determine access and flows. My consideration of postcolonialism in my engagements with Australia and Indonesia in the next section provides an example of how I seek to interrogate the relevance, politics and ethics of broader relationships than the immediate environment. There are two additional reasons why I interrogate postcolonialism. First, heritage continues to be caught up in postcolonial relations that privilege certain people and places over other, once-colonized, people and places, and it is important that these issues and relationships are acknowledged and interrogated. Second, as this book is written by a white Anglo-European Australian man who works in Indonesia and in Australia on Aboriginal peoples' land, it is important that I locate and explain how I am situated within postcolonial relationships in these places.

Colonialism and me in bivouacs and in Indonesia

Indonesia and Australia are, respectively, postcolonial and settler-colonial societies. The inequities and injustices of imperialism have many contemporary legacies, including those that can be found in my bivouacs. Settler descendants like me often use the Australian bush as if we have discovered it for the first time, rather than acknowledging the intense, important relationships and sovereignty of Aboriginal people with this environment, and the long histories of its use by other people and species. The Scout movement too has imperial legacies. Robert Baden Powell (2004, xii) conceived the Scout movement as a means for "moral improvement" at a time of British imperial anxieties due to shifts in global politics. Scouting placed individual boys "at the very center of the imperial world" (Boehmer 2004, xiv) through a program built around the idea of training for military service in the British Empire. It was a flawed and inconsistent vision of masculinity and society. Despite many changes, some of these values still echo in contemporary Scouting practice. When my son was "invested" in a local Scout association, he swore an oath to the Queen of Australia, and his cubs' group was following Baden-Powell's practice of giving leaders names drawn from Rudyard Kipling's colonial tale, *The Jungle Book*.

Scouting is an example of an engagement with what historian Ann Stoler (2008) calls imperial formations, but what I am going to call postcolonial formations. Postcolonial formations are the ongoing, complex legacies of imperialism, "unfinished histories […] that open to differential futures" (Stoler 2008, 195). Stoler emphasizes the important point that the politics and ethics of postcolonial formations are continually shifting and can become the basis of redemptive, and life-affirming, practices. I follow Coombes, Johnson and Howitt's (2013) advice to pursue a postcolonial approach that balances retrospective and prospective

approaches. Such an approach balances the critical appraisal of the past and its continuities with attention to the creative and emancipatory practices that can emerge from hybridity and engagement between people with different legacies who have survived imperialism.

Retrospective and prospective postcolonial practices both are present in and shape heritage phenomena. In their introduction to an edited collection on Indonesian heritage, Legêne and Nordholt (2015, 11) approach postcolonial processes of heritage formation "as representations of past-present relationships that involve a sensing and making sensible of the meaning of colonial experiences in contemporary processes of inclusion and exclusion." The question of whose "sensibility" and "sense" is quite rightly left unanswered. The perceptions of different people, groups and species (which are often important for ecological heritage), with their different senses and notions of the sensible, nurture heritage in different ways and for different ends. Postcolonial formations continue in the present because their stories continue to direct our movements and influence access to and control over things, including heritage phenomenon. My definition of heritage emphasizes the importance of the immediate environment for challenging postcolonial formations; the immediate environment is where postcolonial formations are expressed through the unification of physical form and value through movement, so alternative stories reshape both the heritage phenomenon and the configurations it supports. For instance, the ways in which Ed and I make use of the knowledge we have accessed through Scouts brings in Noongar, settler, agricultural and labor histories. I acknowledge that I am building bivouacs on Boodjar, the unceded Country of the Noongar people that has been shaped by their custodianship and management. The social conservatism and imperialism inherent in the Scouts' history and practices provide opportunities for discussions in my family about politics, postcolonialism and diversity.

This example underlines why heritage workers and researchers therefore need to be reflexive and open to the perceptions of different people and species, and to be aware of their own backgrounds and perspectives. It matters that I am an Anglo-Australian male who has benefitted from settler-colonial structures and policies, and that I am a white Australian visitor of Anglo-European descent in Indonesia. My connection to Indonesia began during my doctoral research on Indonesian cultural policy and has continued through the relationships that I formed at that time, including my oldest son who is Indonesian. My professional and personal relationships have generated an ongoing series of research initiatives that focused first on cultural policy and later on heritage and landscape, including a translation of my book on Indonesian cultural policy that has been widely read and influential. I recall an email from my Indonesian publisher that my book was selling "surprisingly well."

Understanding heritage as movement emphasizes that the perspectives of many different people and species shape heritage phenomena and using scale brings attention to the multiple ways in which these phenomena and their environments can be maintained. For example, Chapters 5 and 6 demonstrate how recognizing residents' relationships with Majapahit era artifacts and sites in East Java nurtures fragile opportunities for the transformation of postcolonial legacies and challenges postcolonial

formations that restrict residents' creative engagement with Majapahit places and things. This book brings a collaborative mode of scholarship to address these issues. I work either with people who are involved in heritage movements (such as Carol Dowling in Chapter 7 and Transpiosa Riomandha and Hairus Salim in Chapter 8), or people who have excellent local relationships developed over many years (Adrian Perkasa in Chapters 5 and 6) so that there is a diverse set of perspectives when recognizing, recording and analyzing places, documents and interviews.

Heritage as bivouacs

While I argue here that bivouacs are an ideal-type of heritage, historian and heritage researcher Raphael Samuel's quote at the start of this chapter uses bivouacs as a metaphor for heritage in his opus, *Theatres of Memory* (1994, 205). Here it is again: "'Heritage' is a nomadic term, which travels easily, and puts down roots – or bivouacs – in seemingly quite unpromising terrain." Samuel's observation points out that, while the politics (and ethics) of heritage are important, heritage does not align with a particular political position, or social circumstance. Heritage is foremost an engagement with an environment that sustains both practices and things. Different politics and ethics sustain heritage in different ways. These differences matter. The politics and ethics of our engagement structure perceptions of and movements through heritage, and the heritage phenomenon therefore nurtures and is nurtured through political structures, whether of residents, visiting groups, non-human species, or state institutions. What is precious to heritage is the binding of values, life, ethics, politics, livelihoods, and movement in heritage phenomena, and this is what needs to be put at the heart of heritage work.

Note

1 Critically addressing these binaries in heritage management and research is a focus of academic research, particularly in critical heritage studies as I note in my introduction. Chapter 3 addresses these critiques in much more detail and engages with this critical literature.

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2 A response to skate heritage

Tod Jones

The title of the video on the skateboarding community campaign to save the Undercroft, a beloved skate spot under Britain's largest arts center, Southbank on the Thames in London, is *You Can't Move History* (Whitter and Richards 2015).[1] This title contradicts the past and present activities of collectors and museums whose business was and continues to be moving history. This contradiction lies at the heart of the challenge that the Long Live Southbank (LLSB) campaign faced when campaigning against the loss of the Undercroft, and the challenge that the Undercroft presents to heritage management and research: responding adequately to the specific, ongoing relationships between a community of practitioners and an environment in a heritage management system that constantly moves heritage with the assumption that the effects on communities can be offset or ameliorated. The Undercroft reveals a "blind spot" in heritage management due to how heritage managers were unable to engage with a dynamic, emotional and evolving youth practice sustained for more than four decades (Emerick 2016, 274).

In this chapter, I explain and unpack this challenge through a counter-reading of the work of Madgin et al. (2018) with the LLSB campaign on the importance of the Undercroft to skaters. Instead of using contemporary heritage management concepts as they do, I make use of the three principles of heritage proposed in chapter one. The challenge is best summarized in the statement of one skater in *You Can't Move History*: "I think the Southbank Centre have a problem understanding the values of skateboarders."

The Undercroft dates to the creation of Southbank in London in 1951 as a showcase for British architecture's innovations in the reconstruction of Britain after World War II. Southbank is the largest arts center in the United Kingdom and houses a complex of galleries, performance venues and cultural events spaces. The Undercroft is a disused car park in Southbank that skaters discovered in 1973. It is the world's oldest continuously used skate spot and is entwined with the history of British skating. In 2013, Southbank Centre announced a development proposal that included closing the Undercroft and opening a purpose-built skate park 120 meters away under Hungerford Bridge. Relocation was vigorously opposed by the Undercroft skating community and their supporters who started the LLSB campaign. They argued that an organically evolved "skate spot" could never be replaced by a purpose-built skate park.

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When the Undercroft was threatened, LLSB found that heritage mechanisms were incapable of saving their cherished skate spot. The UK Secretary of State gave Southbank immunity from heritage listing so they would be able to develop the site free from the rules that apply to heritage places. Heritage managers did not engage with the LLSB's claims about heritage and the Undercroft subsequently applied to be listed as a "Village green," leading to a protracted process with the local council (Emerick 2016). Heritage conservation mechanisms in England rely on historic and architectural importance and require a focus on maintenance and restoration of fabric. It does not include the feel, use and experience of a heritage practice or place, or how important places enable and enrich the practices and identities of communities. Madgin et al. write that "these categories [of age, historic, and architectural interest] have assumed their objective status as a result of the passage of time and the continual reinforcement of a set of values dominated by a narrow field of specialists, namely architectural historians and archaeologists" (588). While there have been some attempts to address this amongst heritage workers (in particular through ICOMOS), such as the Burra Charter, the Faro Convention and the Declaration of San Antonio, it has not yet influenced heritage protection mechanisms in England or many other places (Emerick 2016). The skaters' intimate knowledge and long familiarity with the Undercroft was better recognized through planning legislation to maintain community spaces, which allows for continuous review and changing relationships and forms.

Prioritize the relationship between a heritage phenomenon and its immediate environment

Communicating the importance of the immediate environment was central to the LLSB campaign. The campaign and Madgin et al. do this through the concept of "found space" or "organically created spaces in which individuals and collectives conduct their everyday practices in ways which were not created or pre-determined by built environment professionals" (586). Found space emphasizes that the specific characteristics of the immediate environment matter greatly and are in fact irreplaceable. One skater said that "it can never be created 'cause it wasn't created in the beginning" (591). What matters most is not its original state, or that it was easy to skate (it is not [594]), but how this environment was able to inspire skaters and evolve skateboarding practice. The affordances the Undercroft offered to skaters are central to its importance, and these affordances shifted over time. When its size was reduced by two-thirds, skaters were inspired to evolve beyond the new limits of the space:

> There was loads of banks that we skated, different heights everywhere and they put all these iron railings in front of all of them. It kind of stopped us skating the most interesting parts of the spot, and then it kind of reduced skating … So that was where we progressed to skate more, then we ended up skating the stairs more and we ended up skating the big banks more as well, which are still here today. (592)

The way skating has carved the Undercroft is also important to skaters, who can see that "in the stones itself there is marks of tricks" (594). The Undercroft's street art and graffiti, while not mentioned in the article, are also part of its tapestry. This environment supports a skilled community of skating practitioners.

Heritage is movement in configuration with an environment

The Undercroft is a storied and special place for testing and developing skills, but this does not make the structure itself heritage. Heritage is the skilled movement of skaters (and street artists) through the Undercroft that shapes both the physical form of the space and the embodied experiences and learnings of the skaters. The movement requires a skilled community of skaters that are in configuration with the specific arrangement of the Undercroft in ways that lead to its endurance as a skate spot. This is not to say that the Undercroft cannot change. Changes could detract or add to the configuration, which is why they are best done by or in close consultation with the skater community. The configuration of Undercroft and skating is central to understanding its importance to skaters:

> The Undercroft was seen as stimulating the "creative mind of the skateboarder" (Jason) as the skaters continually sought to engage with their environment and find new "tricks" which were not seen as the goal of skateboarding but rather they were seen as the "language" through which they were able to "interpret our environment." (592)

The layered practice of skating the Undercroft, where generations of skaters built on earlier practices, is a part of the continued refinement of skating. One skater pointed out that the Undercroft produced four slalom world champions (594) as a testament to the skill it supports. Skaters' entanglement with the Undercroft is profound and far-reaching. It includes retaining the embodied experiences of skating ("I can remember the space exactly as it existed in its entirety, because I traversed it so many times" [592]) as well as both positive emotions (love, joy, pride) in its presence and negative emotions (fear, anxiety) when faced with its loss (593). Entanglement is likely the best word to explain the binding of experiences, skills, bodies, emotions and time that lead to a strong and sustained opposition to the loss of this heritage.

The politics and ethics of a heritage configuration affect the phenomenon and its environment

The contest over the Undercroft between the skater social movement and the Southbank Centre engaged directly with the issue of the politics and ethics of the skater community. LLSB had to contest accusations that skaters were misogynists and made up solely of young men who negatively influence each other (Whitter and Richards 2015). The politics and ethics of the space supports both diversity (including gender and age) and individual community members, and this was communicated through

the stories of skaters. Female skaters contested accusations of misogyny, and youth were able to discuss their friendships and experiences within the Undercroft community. The LLSB campaign itself (like many successful social movement campaigns) shifted both engagement with and perception of the Undercroft skating community. The lawyer who worked with LLSB mentioned the importance of winning hearts and minds. A table by the Undercroft became, in the words of one LLSB member, as a "doorway between the realm of the skateboarder and the general public" that opened up new friendships and connections (Whitter and Richards 2015). After coming to an agreement with the Southbank Centre to retain the Undercroft, LLSB went on to receive planning permission to open the closed sections, raised the required funds and then returned the Undercroft to its original size in June 2019.[2] The campaign itself was able to sustain heritage scales (scale is discussed in Chapters 3 and 4) that both retained and transformed the Undercroft in continuity with skate heritage.

Addressing the challenge of skate heritage

The Undercroft's importance is how it provides a set of affordances that are integral to the continuation of a skilled group of practitioners who have the capacities to push the limits of their craft. While communicating this relationship effectively in their paper, there are two awkward aspects of Madgin et al.'s approach to the Undercroft challenge, and both stem from deficiencies in widespread heritage concepts.

First, heritage management appears to be trending toward using a revised version of authenticity to acknowledge the importance of particular engagements with places. Contemporary authenticity is "dynamic, culturally and historically contingent, relative [rather than] stable" (Silverman 2015, 85). Such definitions seek to acknowledge the importance of feeling and emotion to heritage, but authenticity as a concept still requires further retrofitting before it turns to the important task of interrogating the role of emotions and embodiment in the configuration of heritage phenomenon and environment, and I have not considered yet the gatekeeping around who and what is or is not authentic. Too often, authenticity, because it is commonly defined as the quality of being real and true, hides the relationships that allow it to occur and police the access and use of different groups.

The second awkwardness is the concept of "found space." There is no reason why a purpose-built park cannot support the practices of a skilled community of skaters. The Undercroft is an important, historic entanglement that deserves protection, but such entanglements can occur at skate parks, too. It is a distinction that ties a place-based practice too tightly to its origins. The more important set of relationships, the ones that shape and maintain the space, are the affective and embodied feelings of skating the Undercroft that entangle skaters with its physical form and transform them into elite athletes and heritage advocates.

Both issues are due to the conceptual blurriness of heritage in both heritage protection regimes and heritage research. If we agree that heritage is movement in configuration with an environment, emotion and embodiment fall into place as the necessary directives for skilled interactions and appreciation, and the product of long entanglements. We do not need authenticity to recognize their importance and roles.

The question of whether a place is "found" or "contrived" no longer matters as the immediate environment is acknowledged to be indispensable regardless of origin.

The stakes for rethinking heritage

The important heritage of the Undercroft is the binding of the physical form of the space with the skilled practice and comradery of a community of experts as they are inseparable and have shaped each other. The configuration of skater community and environment should be the focus of heritage management, as it has shaped the Undercroft and allows it to endure and appropriately evolve. In a book chapter, Keith Emerick (2016) explores why heritage managers failed to engage with the Undercroft debate. He notes their failure to engage with the passion and emotion of the campaign and the struggles in English Heritage to engage with a dynamic and evolving cultural practice of youth, a demographic they are now trying to engage. He identifies the need for heritage managers to understand "heritage as a process rather than a product" and the "potential" of engaging with a "heritage practice that is not only vibrant and meaningful, but also strongly felt, constantly renewing and thriving on juxtaposition and difference in the present" (2016). The stakes are high for rethinking heritage concepts and practices to focus on ongoing dynamic processes of heritage maintenance and change and engage with the emotional and affective dimensions of heritage. The three principles from Chapter 1 will, I hope, contribute to this transformation.

Notes

1 This great video can be viewed at https://vimeo.com/146671695.
2 The dates and events of the campaign are detailed on the LLSB.

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3 Why heritage is movement in configuration with an environment

A framework for heritage based on flows rather than objects

Tod Jones

There is a huge and growing amount of heritage phenomena. Since the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage was signed in 1972, there were 1157 World Heritage listings in 2023, and the separate category of Intangible Cultural Heritage (convention signed in 2003) has elicited 676 listings. Heritage listings have multiplied in almost every country and at every level of government. Indonesia had relatively low levels of national listings that increased in the late 1990s to peak at 316 new listings in 2010 alone (when new heritage legislation was before parliament) before settling down at 20–30 new national listings per year. In 2018, there were 1413 nationally listed places and objects in Indonesia. At the provincial level, there are over 61,000 listings across 34 provinces. Indonesia's 514 cities and regencies and 61,028 local governments, all have cultural officers who are classifying and managing heritage. Where I live in Western Australia has a similar organization of heritage management. There have been over 2000 state heritage listings since 1990, and every one of the 139 local governments has a heritage list. The small local government where I live in Perth, which services 7400 people, has listed more than 600 heritage sites.

Rodney Harrison (2013) argues that the driver of this phenomenal growth in heritage listings and categories is a sense of loss and rupture with the past due to the speed of change and constant pursuit of innovation in late-modern societies. Conservation is a defense of places, living and non-living things and memories from being lost to a society or group. However, conservation regularly is the cause of feelings of rupture and loss. These feelings, and disdain for conservation, are most acute within the communities who live in and around heritage because of their close relationships with heritage phenomena and its importance to their lives and livelihoods.

The book that most challenged me to appreciate the presence and importance of resident relationships with heritage and appreciate their grief when new conservation regimes were put in place, was Karl Jacoby's (2003) *Crimes against nature*. Jacoby's study expertly tracks how First Nations American and working class rural people, whose practices shaped the landscapes targeted by conservation activists and politicians, were torn from the places, practices and things that provided them with livelihoods and solace because of the creation of modern conservation regimes. Jacoby's recounting and assessment of the perspectives of inhabitants of

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the Adirondack Mountains in New York State, Yellowstone and the Grand Canyon demonstrates the legitimacy of the local populations' arguments and complaints. Local people were arguing logically and passionately with an unresponsive officialdom and commentariat. While reading *Crimes against nature*, I began to question my own approach to contemporary heritage management. Could the research I was undertaking be part of an ongoing process of displacement of local regulation and relationships? Was I unable to recognize these informal sets of regulations that had shaped the heritage I was now arguing should be protected? How should this recognition inform my approach to heritage management?

Crimes against nature identifies the paradox at the heart of conservation: supporters of conservation's arguments and assertions often undermine the environments essential for shaping the heritage phenomenon they seek to preserve. In this chapter, I construct an approach to heritage that begins with and centers on the heritage phenomena-environment relationship. I argue that this recognition is necessary if heritage research is to nourish the often creative and life-producing practices through which heritage phenomena are shaped and maintained.

This chapter is based on a dialogue I construct between the ideas of two insightful and clear thinkers in different fields: archeologist and heritage theorist Denis Byrne and anthropologist-philosopher Tim Ingold. Through this dialogue, I articulate a framework for understanding how life and movement constitute heritage phenomena. Byrne's research provides a starting point for a critique of how heritage management and heritage studies have divided heritage from its environment and thereby ignored relationships that shaped and sustained it. I then turn to Tim Ingold's approaches to environments as the basis for an alternative approach to heritage that underpins this book. The final section considers how to respond ethically to a full recognition of heritage-environment relations that include connections further afield to other places beyond the immediate environment. My hope, like Jacoby's desire for his contribution to the conservation movement, is to contribute to heritage policies and research that recognize their vices and virtues and care not only for heritage phenomena but for the communities of people, animals and things with which they are entangled.

Managing heritage objects and values

The vast bulk of heritage assessment reports document the physical fabric of sites and objects. Architects closely scan buildings and historians delve into archives seeking clues as to paint colors and the origins and types of materials used in different historical periods. Often management policies are drawn up to find ways to make use of heritage places with the purpose of protecting and maintaining these materials. This approach, which dominates heritage internationally, is object-centered due to its basis in the visual observation of material fabric and form (Byrne 2009, 2014). The effects of the bias toward objects and observable characteristics in heritage management are profound and disturbing. Much like Jacoby (2003) observed for environmental management of nature conceived as separate from people, heritage managers have struggled to comprehend and often even recognize the presence and importance of existing and ongoing relationships between communities and old things. Denis

Byrne has been one of the most vocal and consistent critics of the dominant approach in heritage. He has pointed out how this approach embeds a Western bias in World Heritage (1991), misunderstands and undermines Australian Aboriginal heritage (2003, 2008) and fails to engage with the heritage practices of billions of people in Asia (2009, 2014).

The narrow consideration of heritage within heritage management and its focus on objects at the expense of relationships have not gone unnoticed. The most widespread response has been the adoption of a "values approach" that, in Byrne's (2009, 68) words, "endeavors to canvass, document and assess the multiple meanings that old objects and places can have". The values approach makes use of a range of value categories, including scientific, aesthetic, historical, social, spiritual/religious, economic, educational and recreational, in order to articulate a place or object's cultural significance.[1] Heritage management planning then seeks to conserve, maintain and interpret the identified values through maintaining the physical fabric and developing policies for future uses that do not diminish its significance. Byrne (2008, 150; 2014) has criticized this approach, in particular, because of the ways in which it ignores the meaningful connections, attachments and feelings held by "ordinary people" and how they use heritage in their lives, imaginations, desires and ambitions. Byrne (2008, 150, 155) calls this social significance, and in heritage management, it is generally identified within the category of social value.

Byrne (2008) has long been critical of how the values approach undermines social significance. A major obstacle is the tendency to assess and manage heritage sites and objects as discrete points rather than "as elements of a connected pattern of places associated with the lives of people" (Byrne 2008, 157). A shrine that forms part of the rhythms of the lives of people, connected to their ancestors, the end point of walks and the focus of community events, is too easily classified as a religious site or an archaeological site, its physical fabric documented, then a management plan implemented that ignores and even divorces the site from the relationships that made it meaningful for its most frequent and committed visitors. Where the values approach is applied, social significance has too often become a small supplement to assessments that are the product of "a heritage conservation paradigm that objectifies or materializes these places" (Byrne 2008, 158). The systems of heritage values are still classifying places primarily through their physical fabric, which can disconnect sites from the communities who interact with it. This explains why the carers of shrines or mosques in Asia are ambivalent toward or dislike heritage management.

Byrne (2008, 160) also makes the broader argument that much heritage legislation is based on the principle that the significance of heritage resides in the physical fabric or form of the place or object, which assumes "significance or meaning is intrinsic to or inherent in a place rather than being given to a place by people." Heritage significance is too often drawn from observable characteristics in isolation from its contemporary relationships. Where intrinsic significance has been rejected, archeologists and heritage experts have used the principle of representativeness, or the extent to which sites are unique or representative of a particular building, place or practice. However, representativeness does not necessarily include social

significance as understood by Byrne, and experts' priority of maintaining the physical fabric through conservation management continues to be prioritized over other groups' relationships.

The way heritage management has addressed social significance is an example of a recurring pattern of avoiding fundamental, far-reaching reforms when faced with conspicuous public criticism. Where a deficiency in heritage management has been identified, such as not recognizing the importance of contemporary relationships to heritage sites and practices, the solutions too often have held the two sides of the argument together in an uneasy tension instead of seeking a resolution through a broader reconceptualization of heritage. Hence, the values approach added social values to the existing historical and esthetic assessments without a deeper consideration of the definition of heritage. This also occurred when the approach underpinning World Heritage was criticized for privileging the cultural heritage sites of Western countries. The solution in this case was the development of a new convention and process that added intangible cultural heritage as a separate category (Aikawa-Foure 2009). Similarly, when the categories of natural and cultural became untenable in World Heritage listings after the criticism by Aboriginal people in Australia and Maori people in New Zealand, the World Heritage Committee created the additional category of cultural landscapes (see Chapter 7, Fowler 2004; Harrison 2013). However, recent critical scholarship on heritage indicates there is movement toward new conceptualizations and approaches (Byrne 2019; Sterling 2020; Tolia-Kelly, Waterton and Watson 2016; Waterton 2014).

Rethinking heritage-people relationships

Byrne's critique of the treatment of heritage practice is a starting point for alternative understandings of the relations between heritage phenomena and their environments. Byrne (2008, 152) calls this set of relations "the local world." I make use of two of Byrne's contributions, from 2008 and 2014, supplemented with other key heritage texts, as a way of unpicking both conventional critiques of heritage and how positions are shifting due to the criticisms of social science research by scholars like Gilles Deleuze (1987) and Bruno Latour (2005). While Byrne's (2008) book chapter "Heritage as Social Action" that I discuss in this section is representative of critical heritage studies approaches in the early twenty-first century, Byrne's (2014) approach in *Counterheritage* is part of an emerging reconceptualization of heritage.

A strength of Byrne's (2008) approach in "Heritage as Social Action" is his sophisticated account of how people use heritage in their local worlds. The concept of social significance emphasizes place attachment and the meaningful connections and feelings of "ordinary people," allowing Byrne to locate how heritage is given meanings within and contributes to the "lived world" of people. Byrne identifies here that:

> [Each] individual's reworking of the landscape [and by extension heritage] is not something accomplished and then concretized but is a process of 'becoming' which continues until death.
>
> (2008, 163)

Heritage then should always be understood from the contemporary moment. Byrne does not limit contemporary local worlds to only local relations. He recognizes that residents are increasingly using heritage management concepts in their understandings and uses of places. There are a number of reasons why this is happening. Residents shape heritage through their efforts to shape their futures, including greater say in spatial management of local sites (Jones, Jones and Hughes 2016). Byrne points to the extensive promotion of heritage by heritage agencies as a reason for the penetration of ideas about heritage beyond the circles of heritage experts. He also uses Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) concept of cultural capital to explain how knowledge of heritage can contribute to status, leading not just to changing individual relations with heritage phenomena, but to audiences for museums and markets for antiquities. Attachments to heritage phenomena are generally a combination of these and other elements.

A key element of Byrne's consideration of social significance is a sophisticated understanding of culture. Byrne is critical of approaches that view culture as a rigid set of rules, customs and practices which are inherited and static:

> The concept of reification has been absorbed into the social sciences where it is used, for instance, to describe how we have come to think of culture as a thing rather than as a set of ideas, actions, and beliefs residing in people's minds.
>
> (Byrne 2008, 159)

Byrne instead holds that people improvise culture by drawing on the mental resources available to them, including heritage. He writes that heritage is "*deployed*" (2008, 169), and we "*mobilize* elements from this archive in the process of forming and expressing our identity" (2008, 169) [emphasis in original].

There are two issues with this approach to heritage phenomena. First, it continues to separate the physical and the cultural in heritage phenomena through a focus on symbolism and human action. In his well-founded desire to return heritage to the lifeworld, Byrne's approach to agency places humans in control of symbolic action and interaction. The physical world enters the human mind and is then inscribed with symbolism. Consider the quote about landscape above where the process of becoming continues "until death." Landscapes' physical forms will continue becoming long after all human life has ceased. What is different about these landscapes of the future is that humans are not part of the multitude of forces through which they are continuously becoming.[2]

The focus on symbolic meanings that dispense with physical relations is part of a broader issue in critical heritage studies. Many of critical heritage studies' key texts have emphasized symbolic and discursive processes as the foundation of understanding contemporary heritage. Hence Laurajane Smith (2006, 13), in her influential book *Uses of heritage*, can make the claim that "There is no such thing as 'heritage'," and John Tunbridge, Greg Ashworth and Brian Graham (2013), in their reflective essay on *A Geography of Heritage* (Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000), argue strongly that the term heritage "logically refers to the interpretations," which is separate from the tangible "resources." Harrison and Rose's (2010, 264)

critique of discursive approaches to heritage argues this understanding "replicates the mind-matter dualism in suggesting that the material world has no values or meanings in and of itself." Instead, they argue for the inclusion of a broader range of collaborative practices with plants, animals and places in the shaping and conservation of heritage. They write:

> Rather than imagining a process by which human meaning makers engage in heritage practices by making meanings in or through physical realities, we are rather pushed to imagine that humans and other sentient beings bind time collaboratively. Heritage is thus both tangible and intangible, embodied, material, and equally mindful and emergent.
>
> (Harrison and Rose 2010, 266)

While Byrne's (2008) approach is a move toward a broader recognition of the role of the non-human, he does not take this step in "Heritage as social action."

Second, Byrne's approach is based on anthropological and social science approaches to culture that view culture as "a set of ideas, actions, and beliefs residing in people's minds" (Byrne 2008, 159). This approach moves the focus of research from the interactions of people in environments to the search for meaningful action as defined within the social sciences. This can be illustrated through Byrne's (2008, 170) invocation of Harrison (2004) that the space of a heritage site is created through the performative actions of the present, where place is created through performing community. People do not perform either of these things; they perform tasks. These tasks are entangled with many different things, and through these interactions, they and their environments shape each other, including heritage.

The complexity of heritage is in its doubling as what Ann Fienup-Riordan (2000, 167) has called conscious culture. While I rarely consider the everyday practices of my life as cultural practices, an anthropologist viewing them in the context of my upbringing in South Australia and life in Western Australia and comparing them to someone who was raised and lives in Sumatra would identify these as culturally specific. The difference with heritage phenomena is that people themselves (me in Western Australia, my friend in Sumatra and the anthropologist conducting the interviews) are aware of its place, community and historically specific character. This consciousness has many effects on how people perceive and interact with heritage phenomena. However, while the consciousness of history and inheritance complicates the use of heritage phenomena, it should not detract from, dominate or hide from view their immediate sets of relations and interactions. In short, the lifeworld of heritage phenomena should not be hidden by these broader significations, whether they be of history, or nation, or of community.

Rethinking heritage phenomena-environment relationships

Tim Ingold's (2011, 99–135; 2012) approach to landscapes offers a critique of social science approaches that understand landscape as a projection of preconceived ideas in our minds and culture as a set of symbolic understandings that people

inscribe on their environments. For Ingold, this approach fundamentally misunderstands how people interact with their environments. Landscapes are not a separate world on which humans project place and community but are "generated in movement" (Ingold 2000, 198) and not just the movement of humans, but of plants, animals, water, wind, rocks and so on. Landscape is a process of incorporation, not inscription, where the histories of humans and non-humans are woven together. Following geographer Fred Inglis (1977, 489), Ingold views landscapes as "a living process; it makes [women and] men; it is made by them."

Understood like this, all phenomena, including heritage phenomena like landscapes and cultural practices, are constituted through flows of matter and therefore have multiple and intimate connections with their environments. Hence Ingold (2011, 29) can write that "Things are alive and active […] because the substances of which they are comprised continue to be swept up in circulations of the surrounding media that alternately portend their dissolution or – characteristically with animate beings – ensure their regeneration." He continues to state that "as the environment unfolds, so the materials of which it is comprised do not *exist* – like the objects of the material world – but *occur*." He is referring to the way things that to all intents and purposes have a permanent and solid character are themselves constituted through ongoing processes. The process philosopher Alfred North Whitehead (1978, 29) called these "permanences" to emphasize how they are only permanent in their abstraction. Whitehead (1953, 50) argued that "nature is a structure of evolving processes. The reality is the process."

In Chapter 1, I defined environment following Ingold as relative to the person, animal or thing under consideration, and in these relationships, heritage phenomena continuously unfold along their own paths of becoming. A useful way of conceptualizing this environment is Ingold's concept of meshwork, or "entangled lines of life, growth and movement":

> It is rather a trail along which life is lived. Neither beginning here and ending there, nor vice versa, the trail winds through or amidst like the root of a plant or a stream between its bank. Each such trail is but one strand in a tissue of trails that together comprise the texture of the lifeworld. This texture is what I mean when I speak of organisms being constituted within a relational field. It is a field not of interconnected points but of interwoven lines; not a network but a meshwork.
>
> (2011, 69–70)

In meshwork, the entwining trajectories of becoming and movement form a single ongoing formation. Heritage phenomena are therefore shaped by meshwork and help hold it in place. Meshwork is essential for how I understand entanglement, following Thom van Dooren (2014, 3), as interwoven "rich patterns of co-becoming" with other phenomena including other species and things. The unraveling of entanglements, when important lines of becoming are lost, results in many forms of loss and change. Like Jacoby (2003) observes with regard to the effects of conservation regimes on American rural-dwellers, unraveling moves beyond the end of

attachment to include shifting livelihoods, absent feelings, changing relationships and grief.

At this stage, it is worth reflecting on what this approach to heritage phenomena does to the dichotomies of mind/matter, human/non-human, tangible/intangible, local/global and culture/nature that have caused so many problems in heritage studies. In meshwork, the mind is caught up in the processes of perceiving the world in the movements of living and in doing so contributes to the physical becoming of the world. This process of perception requires engagement with the different human and non-human strands in the meshwork. Human activity is not privileged here but understood as formed through its weaving with the meshwork that is our physical world. The division between tangible and intangible heritage dissolves in the meshwork as the focus is no longer on the object produced or symbolic knowledge projected, but on a single process of becoming. For instance, a *tayuban* dance performance in Indonesia requires skilled practitioners' responses to their environment in their posturing and movement, including constant adjustments with fellow performers, audiences and conditions. While more fleeting than a temple, it is no less physical. A temple itself is constantly changing its physical form in response to plants, animals, wind, rain and upkeep. The meshwork also dissolves nature as a hard category as it is no longer detached from the world of humans but is part of interconnected environments. Ingold (2000, 187) writes that trees, like houses, "have life-histories, which consist in the unfolding of their relations with both human and non-human components of their environments." He also notes that the extent to which houses seem like a building or a landform relates to whether the human or non-human prevails.

What in the meshwork distinguishes heritage from other phenomena? As I noted at the end of the last section, heritage phenomena are distinguished by the way our contemporary, immediate relationships with them (and therefore the flows of matter that constitute them) are inflected by our conscious association of them with the valued past. The conservation paradox (that conservation often undermines the relationships that shape and maintain heritage) is revealed by attention to the flows of materials; authorities cannot remove an object from one environment, such as a local shrine and put it in another, like a museum, and expect it to remain the same. While the rest of the chapter deals with these issues theoretically, the challenge of engaging with heritage as both contemporary movements of matter and as ways of encountering the past is the problem that links together each of the following chapters. A book that provides numerous insights into these relationships is Denis Byrne's (2014) *Counterheritage*.

From Byrne's building practice to Ingold's dwelling perspective

Counterheritage (2014) provides a point of departure for this book in two ways. First, the focus of *Counterheritage* is on the practices of popular religion and collecting in Southeast and East Asia and how these are entwined with and ignored within conservation practices. Given the chapters on Indonesia, there is much in *Counterheritage* that is relevant in terms of its content alone, as becomes apparent in Chapters 5 and 6 on artifacts and sites in Trowulan in Indonesia. The second and

more important point of departure is Byrne's purpose and approach to heritage. Byrne (2014, 22,200-1) makes the important and astute observation that popular religion in Asia dwarfs officially designated heritage in both numbers of adherents and dynamism, and that contemporary heritage management risks disenfranchising hundreds of millions of people due to its incapacity to engage, or even recognize, how huge numbers of people in Asia commune with old things. He writes:

> It is time to ask by what means these objects are heritage and who benefits from that designation. In the future I see for the heritage field in Asia, we as heritage aficionados will need to come to terms with loss—the loss of our ability to classify everything old as heritage and to then pass judgement on human interactions with "heritage" according to whether in our terms they degrade it, obliviate it, or preserve it. But this loss will be more than compensated for by what we gain in terms of our awareness of and pleasure in the richness and diversity of the ways people in Asia "dialogue" (Harrison 2013) with old things and places, tangle with them, configure and reconfigure them. (2014, 13)

The time and attention Byrne gives to understanding popular religious practices and the relationships to heritage management in *Counterheritage*, which my co-authors and I replicate, is an important corrective to the attention given to official heritage sites and management issues. This focus also leads to similarities in approach. In particular, Byrne seeks new ways of understanding heritage phenomena that consider its multiple entanglements, including affect and the relationships that official heritage management ignores or vilifies, challenging the narrow perspectives and ethical blindspots of certain mainstream heritage practices. While *Counterheritage* contains numerous insights for critical heritage studies, two are useful for positioning my approach in emerging contemporary approaches to heritage.

First, Byrne (2014, 201–3) argues that heritage workers should understand official heritage as one building practice amongst many that engage with old things. Using the example of lineage halls in south-eastern China, Byrne observes that the "acts of building, maintaining and periodically restoring them all *gave substance* to the lineage," by which he means both continuity and physical form. This understanding is both a corrective to the perspective that heritage is somehow non-intervention, or a non-practice, and it introduces a symmetry between conservation practices and other practices. Conservation often entails radical interventions and constant directing of flows of materials to produce old buildings and objects, and this displaces other building practices, such as those within popular religion.

Ingold's (2000, 172–88) approach to "building" differs from Byrne's "building practice" in that it focuses even greater attention on the ways that all practices are caught up in and not separate from lifeworlds. Ingold differentiates two perspectives. He defines a building perspective, which is drawn from conventional anthropological accounts of how we build, as holding that humans have a preconceived set of ideas (culture) or plan in their mind that they subsequently impose on an external reality to shape it and give it meaning. Ingold contrasts the building perspective

with the dwelling perspective, which he takes from philosopher Martin Heidegger's (1971, 148, 160) assertion that "Only if we are capable of dwelling, only then can we build." Ingold (2000, 186) takes this to mean that "the forms people build, whether in the imagination or on the ground, arise within the current of their involved activity, in the specific relational contexts of their practical engagement with their surroundings." In arguing for the dwelling perspective, Ingold highlights the importance of perception and how it is shaped through movement. We can live in dynamic environments, the meshwork, only because we can perceive and process from moment to moment, and we can do this only because of the actions of and interactions with our predecessors. Ingold (2000, 186) writes that humans (and other animals) "literally carry the forms of their dwelling their bodies – in specific skills, sensibilities and dispositions." In this formulation, heritage phenomena are crystallizations of human and non-human activities within an environment. However, it would be incorrect to focus on the crystallization itself as this mistakes the fluctuating object or event for the flows of materials that give it form. Instead, heritage is the coordinated and responsive movement of humans and non-humans through the meshwork.

This approach advances Byrne's building practice in important ways. While Byrne (2014, 113) recognizes "agents of disintegration" like the weather, robbers and scavengers of building materials, a meshwork approach acknowledges these things' centrality to the material form and rhythm of heritage phenomena. Too often the role of physical forces is overlooked in preference for human activities without recognizing their co-constitution. The rhythms of our lives are connected to a host of non-human phenomena. Both local practices and heritage management are responses to these rhythms that direct material flows through stories to maintain heritage phenomena. Heritage management itself is a set of stories and relationships that establish material flows, at times to the detriment and exclusion of the previous stories and relations that were sustaining that heritage phenomenon. Conservation practices will cause broader sets of relations to wither over time if they initiate broad ranging changes as the heritage phenomenon will be articulated to alternative flows and relationships. The dwelling perspective connects heritage phenomena to the flows of life in ways that explain the pain and suffering of unraveling entanglements when these phenomena are uprooted or cut off from their environments.

The second element of Byrne's approach is his understanding of the agency of objects. Byrne (2014, 31–6) engages with contemporary approaches to agency in the social sciences through Latour's (2004, 2005) actor network theory (ANT). Latour (2004, 88) holds "any thing that does modify a state of affairs by making a difference is an actor." Objects are not inert or passive but part of a network that generates agency:

> Worship and worshippers are inextricably bundled up with the building and its effects, the whole bundle being a kind of ecology in which worshippers and built fabric merge into each other. […] Conventional heritage practice works to effect a 'disentangling' of worshippers and fabric, in the process creating a new version of the temple […].
>
> (Byrne 2014, 33)

While I am sympathetic to this perspective, it is important to differentiate contemporary understandings of ANT's network from Ingold's meshwork (Ingold 2011, 69–70, 89–94). Ingold is particularly critical of the way the network logically supposes that the connected entities can be distinguished from their lines of connection. Ingold (2011, 92) writes: "action is not the result of an agency that is distributed around the network, but rather emerges from the interplay of forces that are conducted along the lines of the meshwork."

Agency then is located in the interweaving of the generative currents of the world (2011, 214). Perception is a crucial element of these currents as it shapes our movements through the flows of materials within which we exist. Perception necessarily includes affect and emotion as animated beings use sensory awareness to function. This holds for all life and their activities. An artisan making a statue adjusts her strokes and movements through feelings and understandings developed across years of interactions with materials. A gecko feels her way across a stone relief. An adherent of popular religion has both knowledge of and feeling for the magical qualities of a shrine or amulet that enables him to be skilled at intervening in magical-material flows that both direct attention and weave together holy places. Ingold (2011, 12) writes:

> To be sentient […] is to open up to a world, to yield to its embrace, and to resonate in one's inner being to its illuminations and reverberations. Bathed in light, submerged in sound and rapt in feeling, the sentient body, at once both perceiver and producer, traces the paths of the world's becoming in the very course of contributing to its ongoing renewal.

Perception therefore is essential to understanding the qualities of entanglement because a full range of perceptions, including affective and emotional relationships, are essential to our movements through the world.

In summary, the meshwork has two advantages over the network. First, it emphasizes how continuous processes of becoming shape objects that are always changing. Meshwork therefore more strongly refutes the tendency in heritage practice to think of objects as static or enclosed. Second, it draws attention to a much broader set of trajectories that comprise the mesh within which heritage objects, humans and many other animate and inanimate things are entangled. It is a fuller and more integrated way of thinking of lifeworlds. Conceptualizing heritage as constituted within the meshwork has a greater chance of achieving Byrne's (2014, 34–5) aim of "a heritage practice that has moved beyond the Western dichotomy of objects and subjects in order to appreciate the ways in which old things, our 'subject matter', emerge from the mutually enfolded life of humans and things, past and present." The meshwork concept provides a more complete and intricate account of our entanglements.

Ethically approaching entanglement with heritage

Heritage phenomena are shaped by stories. Ingold (2011, 160) argues that "we can understand the nature of things only by attending to their relations, or in other words, by telling their stories." Hence for Ingold (2011, 160), "the things of this

world *are* their stories, identified not by fixed attributes but by their paths of movement in an unfolding field of relations." Stories attune people to their environments, sharpen their perceptions and refine their actions. Stories of entanglement bring listeners into greater awareness and understanding through knowledge of past relations. If heritage phenomena are configured movement, humans understand, replicate and prolong that movement through stories.

To know a heritage phenomenon's stories is to become aware of its entanglements. Stories make us complicit in the lifeworlds of other people and things. Van Dooren (2014, 10) observes that there is an obligation to those whose stories we are attempting to tell because stories are "powerful contributors" to shaping our shared worlds. Those of us who work with heritage have an ethical obligation to recognize, understand and communicate the stories of heritage phenomena in ways that sustain and encourage the life that surrounds, supports and sustains heritage. This obligation extends to how stories connect people to others in new ways and imagine new entanglements.

It is at this point that Ingold's approach to environments requires some reflection before I apply it to heritage phenomena, largely due to his disciplinary basis in anthropology and philosophical basis in phenomenology. Much of his work seeks to reframe understandings of interaction between people and their immediate environments. He argues emphatically against the way that academic or managerial approaches can transform processes of becoming into bounded, static things that can be counted, measured and compared. I agree with him that immediate relations are crucial to understanding phenomena. However, not every environment around a heritage phenomenon should be treated the same way. The stories told, and therefore the possibilities of connection and perceptions, shape flows differently in different places. A museum in Amsterdam is different from a temple on Java in Indonesia. Additionally, different people perceive and are engaged in, these flows in different ways. This raises questions about the range of ethical obligations stemming from the complex presence of heritage phenomena.

While Ingold does not address the doubling of past and present flows of matter in institutional settings like the museum or heritage site, it has been a focus of new museology from its inception (Vergo 1989).[3] Here I consider the critical beginnings of New Museology through examining two seminal chapters in James Clifford's book *Routes* (1997) "Paradise" and "Museums as contact zones," as they provide some guidance as to how to approach the ethics of material flows within heritage management. The museum context is useful here as ethical engagement in museums is far more developed than for most sites, in no small part due to Clifford's interventions. By invoking the term contact zone from Mary Louise Pratt's (1992, 6–7) study of colonial travel writing, Clifford draws attention to communication and relationships of exchange in places where there are large asymmetries of power. Clifford seeks to establish the types of reciprocities and negotiations that are possible and desirable in a museum context given ongoing power imbalances and colonial legacies, particularly in the case of Indigenous exhibitions. He argues that such an approach in museums is necessary due to the politics and pressures of a culturally complex civil society.

Clifford's approach can be linked to my concerns through identifying how he addresses flows, first of materials, then of people. Flows of materials are important to Clifford's consideration in several ways most clearly articulated in his analysis of the 1993 *Paradise* exhibition in London's Museum of Mankind on change and continuity in the New Guinea Highlands (1997, 146–87). For instance, he considers difficult decisions about whether to clean an artifact ("Change adds and subtracts, reveals and obscures" (1997, 161)). Clifford pays attention to the tensions between the context of an artifact's early creation (and use) and its presentation in an exhibition. A color photograph of a contemporary banner (the colors are important for representations of time) is itself an artifact that disturbs an older banner propped beside it. The decisions about the politics of display then are crucial for the flows of materials around objects. The category of museum (or heritage site) does not denote a uniform set of treatments of artifacts but instead is a location where a range of options should be carefully considered part of a broader set of arrangements about the flows of people and resources in a museum meshwork.

The flows of people are equally important to Clifford. He considers many categories of people and how they influence and are influenced by an exhibition. He asks questions about reciprocity and seeks ways to disturb the binaries that cause misrepresentation in the display of other cultures. Collecting requires complex negotiations with communities over what objects can be removed and displayed and how such displays can proceed. The collector develops complex relationships with the artifacts based on these interactions and their own practices and understandings. The curation and maintenance of an exhibition bring in more categories of people. Limitations of space and resources and curatorial trends and practices influence the organization of the exhibit. Cleaning and security regimes are enacted. All these people develop relationships with the exhibited objects. Communities of people who have claims and obligations to the exhibit also can seek to direct the flows of materials and people. These communities often make specific requests about the order and emphasis of exhibitions, require extensive consultation over themes and seek control over how their culture and practices are represented. Their absence or presence at the exhibition has a bearing on its organization. Finally, the numbers of visitors to the museum and their experiences of the exhibit are influenced by both the preceding negotiations and the different perspectives of the people that visit who have varying perspectives on and experiences with the content of the exhibition and museums. Clifford draws attention to the importance of flows of people in museums, how museum environments shape these flows and therefore shape the pieces exhibited.

Clifford's two essays are an exemplary account of the contemporary politics of storytelling and therefore the ways that contemporary flows of materials and people are directed by strategies of management and display. When heritage phenomena-environment relations radically shift, analysis of the constitution of the heritage phenomena will need to account for the principles and negotiations that hold together regimes of care that influence the flows of materials and life through the exhibition. Just as a newly made Majapahit statue in East Java comes together through geological forces and chemical reactions, trends and traditions, the skill of

the artisan, and the demand and desires of a purchaser (discussed in Chapter 5), museums have their own sets of considerations and concerns that have now extended well beyond conservation, storage and display. I call a specific and relatively stable alignment of flows a *regime of care*. While an environment refers to the entirety of relations of flows, the regime of care draws attention to the politics of a subset of these relations and the concept of territory (explored further in Chapter 6) points to the forms of spatial management that influence flows in different ways. Clifford demonstrates that contemporary regimes of care in museums are complex, negotiated and connected to contemporary cultural politics and the struggles of museums to construct regimes that can cope with these complexities. Analysis of heritage requires that the tensions and alignments between flows, overlapping regimes of care and spatial management be made clear.

Addressing the broader network of heritage connections requires a second distinction from Ingold's approach. Ingold resists concepts that emphasize broader sets of connections due to the way that they remove attention from the lifeworld. For instance, Ingold (2011, 141–2) rejects Doreen Massey's (2005, 10–2, 183) understanding of space as a "sphere of […] contemporaneous multiplicity" and the "simultaneity of stories-so-far," despite noting the strong parallels and agreements between their projects, in favor of a definition of space as a "void," a "non-world" that fixes things "in their respective places." This draws attention to a dangerous issue within Ingold's work due to its alignment with Heidegger's concept of dwelling: the tendency to shut off places from the world outside due to a strict focus on the practices of the lifeworld. Geographers who have made use of the concept of dwelling have interrogated the strengths and issues of a dwelling perspective, in particular in connection to place and landscape (Cloke and Jones 2001; Harrison 2007; Whatmore 2002; Wylie 2007). The strength of the dwelling perspective is it clarifies that engagement with things and other beings is embodied and binds together the hybrid materiality of the world. The strong and stable values of places are possible because of dwelling. It provides an account of the "embedded, networked, richness of the everyday world and the places that form within it" (Cloke and Jones 2001, 653).

The danger of the dwelling perspective is how shutting off places can lead to exclusion of people and other beings, at times along racial and class lines. Heidegger's defense of the authenticity of rural European dwelling included discussion of how it was diminished by the intrusion or threat of dissolution from the outside, in particular from modernity (Heidegger 1962). In addition to the sinister romanticism of Heidegger's examples, philosopher Emmanuel Levinas (1969) demonstrated how closing such places from the outside world assimilates and excludes difference in the process of articulating an exclusive belonging. More simply, heritage advocates are in danger of excluding and vilifying other people (and beings) and closing themselves off from how heritage phenomena require constant change to endure, if they pursue a limited understanding of authenticity, or if their approach is rooted in a closed notion of place. Fortunately, it is possible to focus on how heritage is configured with an environment while considering broader relationships.

My position is that we should seek to recuperate and rethink concepts like space and place to address the relationality and connectedness of the lifeworld rather than reject them. Recuperating space and allied concepts allows heritage managers and researchers to critically consider the wider geographies within which humans live, including how the global is always constructed locally. The global, far from being a formalized abstraction, is constituted in lifeworlds, and we benefit from the critical use of concepts like space when we interrogate its characteristics and politics. This is consistent with my rejection of authenticity as a basis for assessing heritage in Chapter 1, and my advocacy for tools to understand how specific values are negotiated and perpetuated across space and time. Massey (2005, 183) addresses the dwelling perspective directly: "the real difficulty of Heidegger's reformulation of space *as* place [is that] in the end, Heidegger's notion of place remains too rooted, too little open to the externally relational."

This raises the question of what to call these broader sets of relations and how to think about them. The semiotician Roland Barthes (1972, 109–58) called them *myths* and identified them as the mechanism that produces "naturalized" (or depoliticized) speech, a view of the world as it should be. Social researchers have used different terms. Bender (1998, 37) refers to these broader sets of relations as *representations* that make heritage permeable to the flow of ideas, meanings, symbols and significations from and to other places and beings. The issue I have with the concepts of "myth" and "representation" is the distinction they make between language and practices. Let us return briefly to the Scout movement discussed in Chapter 1. Calling Scouting a myth or representation allows Scouts to too easily become a unified, global category. My family's Scout-influenced practices of building bivouacs discussed in Chapter 1 are quite different from the practices of my son's scout group in Perth and in some ways the result of critical reflections on those practices. Anthropologist Anna Tsing (2005, 8) uses the term *engaged universals* to capture how global ideas gain force, traction and meaning through their often diverse and always grounded applications and uses in different places. Her term captures how such terms appear universal because they are useful for varied engagements in differing locations. While an improvement, there is an analytical tool that more precisely focuses on these broader relations and how they configure local practices: scale.

Revised over a 40 year period in human geography, the use of scale has shifted from a methodological choice, to a set of established hierarchical levels in the 1980s and 1990s, and now to a tool that demonstrates how size (geographical scale) and level (vertical or hierarchical scale) are articulated and connected through relations (an understanding that scale is constituted through dynamic relationships in specific contexts) (Howitt 2003). In its contemporary use, scale is only conceivable because of the lifeworlds and perceptions of animate beings, and it opens awareness of broader becomings and connections that are not always obvious. Scale is political and requires heritage analysis to consider ethics and justice as specific scales favor certain relations and flows over others. Contemporary applications of scale interrogate and generally undermine global logics by recognizing their contingencies in different places and times, while also identifying the presence and importance

of connections to different places and times. Articulating scale is an act of binding places, flows, beings, things and values. Who articulates scale matters, as does to whom it is articulated. It is never a simple act of recognition, but a choice to see and understand something in a particular way. Many scales exist for a heritage phenomenon. The choice to recognize some scales and not others generate flows of resources and status, and therefore the movements that constitute and sustain that heritage. The next chapter is a short example of the usefulness of scale that draws on research I undertook with colleagues in Western Australia (Jones et al. 2016).

Approaching heritage as both contemporary movements of matter and as ways of encountering the past requires more than Ingold's close attention to the movements of life through which heritage is shaped and maintained within an environment. I argue in this section that approaches to heritage also need attention to institutional ethics and dynamics of display, and tools for interrogating the broader sets of relations and political projects that heritage phenomena can enable. While heritage phenomena are rooted in their immediate environments, these environments can be complex and are not isolated. Clifford's interrogation of what I have called regimes of care and concepts like space and scale are ways of ensuring the complexity and connectedness of heritage is not overlooked in the project of understanding heritage as movement configured with an environment.

Heritage entanglements

Foregrounding and clarifying the relationship between heritage phenomena and their environments challenges narrow conceptions of what is appropriate for heritage management and theory and reveals the creative and life-producing practices through which heritage phenomena are shaped and maintained. This focus acknowledges our entanglements; the complex relations humans have with landscapes, heirlooms, shrines, buildings, dances, music, cooking and other heritage phenomena. Their importance is captured in stories that connect listeners to long lines of becoming and implicate them in contemporary politics. This framework is not just about explaining and preventing loss; conservation can also be a creative process of invention, imagination and use. However, conservation can only avoid causing loss and grief through a full and reflexive consideration of a heritage phenomenon's entanglements in a meshwork through which it has been shaped and maintained. This can include renewal of threads that have become in some cases very thin through journeys of discovery and learning.

Including all the ways we care for precious things is transformative for heritage studies because it challenges heritage practice and research to be more than the management or politics of museums and sites. Care for precious things is much more diverse and widespread. Inclusive and equitable heritage approaches must consider the variety of ways we care for precious things and appreciate the full suite of forces that shape them. The remaining chapters begin with this task. They quickly find that heritage management is much more complex, transformative and critical once we acknowledge the full range of heritage practices that shape and sustain heritage phenomena.

Notes

1 The most well-known values approach is embedded in ICOMOS Australia's *Burra Charter*. However, the values are discussed not in the document but in a separate practice note on understanding and assessing cultural significance available through the Australia ICOMOS website (http://australia.icomos.org). In Australia where I am based, spiritual value generally refers to connections to religious or ceremonial use, for instance Church services, wedding sites or pilgrimage sites.
2 This formulation raises the question of the extent to which landscape is a product of human perception (Cosgrove 1985) or can be conceived as shaped through the lifeworlds of living things in conjunction with the physical forces and conditions of those places (Ingold 2012). While this is not the place to review this debate, I follow Ingold's (2012) position that landscapes are more accurately defined as inhabitation, which opens up the possibility of landscapes surviving humankind. See John Wyley's (2007) book on landscape for an account of these different positions.
3 For instance, Charles Smith (1989, 9) writes that "One of the most insistent problems that museums face is precisely the idea that artefacts can be, and should be, divorced from their original context of ownership and use, and redisplayed in a different context of meaning, which is regarded as having a superior authority. Central to this belief in the superior authority of museums is the idea that they will provide a safe and neutral environment in which artefacts will be removed from the day-to-day transactions which lead to the transformation and decay of their physical appearance." To address this stasis, Smith insists on attention to the "lifecycle" of artifacts, like what I have called stories, that opens up multiple readings and curatorial decisions.

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4 Scale and world heritage on the Ningaloo Coast

Tod Jones, Roy Jones, and Michael Hughes

The book that established how to use scale in heritage research is *A Geography of Heritage* by Brian Graham, Greg Ashworth and John Tunbridge (2000). It did an excellent job of using scale to explain that different heritage issues and meanings were produced at local, national, continental and global scales, and that their overlaps can both undermine and reinforce different identities and agendas. While recognizing overlapping scales, Graham et al.'s use of scale was not relational enough. They mostly used scale to refer to a hierarchy of levels of governance (local, national, continental and global) (2000, 4). Using an assumed hierarchy of levels that corresponds with political power overlooks the practices and activities of groups that are excluded from and contesting that power, such as women (Marston, 2000) and Indigenous groups (Howitt, 2003). Less nuanced approaches to levels in heritage research make assumptions about their characteristics. For instance, David C. Harvey (2015) points out that we cannot assume the local level is progressive and open to diversity and the national level is oppressive.

Our approach to scale questions the hierarchical nesting of levels and the emphasis on a small, set number of levels in heritage (generally local, national, continental and global). The arrangement of levels in heritage management is the product of a long political process and is part of contemporary politics. Heritage practices that assume these levels can unconsciously make alignments with or against different groups and can ignore or condone their management practices. All levels are fluid and constantly under negotiation and new understandings of levels are constantly evoked. Scale is the articulation of space, level and relation (Howitt, 1998). In other words, scale refers to the relational process of arguing for and against particular spatial patterns and designations of heritage because this process defines the meaning of the levels and to whom and where resources should be allocated.

The World Heritage designation of the Ningaloo Reef

The importance of scale to heritage research became clear to us when we were involved with a research project on the World Heritage designation of Australia's Ningaloo Coast in 2011.[1] Exmouth is the northern gateway to the World Heritage area and the town to stay in when visiting Australia's longest fringing coral reef. While shorter in length than the Great Barrier Reef, Ningaloo Reef still stretches over

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350 kilometers along Australia's western coast and is in places only a few meters from the shore. Exmouth is 350 kilometers north from the nearest large town and a further 1000 kilometers north from the state capital of Western Australia, Perth. The driving does not stop when in Exmouth. From the town, visitors drive another 60 kilometers around Cape Range to reach the better snorkeling and swimming beaches. Exmouth is a 'Winter' tourism destination due to its location just north of the Tropic of Capricorn. While too hot for most tourists in December to March, its mild weather in April to September provides a warm alternative to the colder winters of southern Australia.

The Shire of Exmouth covers 6503 square kilometers and has a population of approximately 2800. Resident numbers double at the peak of the tourist season in the July school holidays. Even at its most populated, there is still less than one person per square kilometer. These distances contribute to the feeling of remoteness and isolation that defines the town for many of its visitors. This introduces an important dimension of scale: how geospatial relationships shape the characteristics and politics of towns like Exmouth and decisions about spatial management. While the geographical relationship to other places underlies Exmouth's sense of remoteness, other geospatial relationships define the meaning of world heritage to Exmouth's residents.

Protection of the Ningaloo Reef became an issue in the 2001 Western Australian election due to a proposed marina development in the middle of the reef. Two years after the opposition Labor party won the election, the new Premier simultaneously announced the marina development would not go ahead and his government would seek World Heritage designation for the Ningaloo Reef. The local community was divided about the merits of World Heritage. In Exmouth, two vocal camps emerged who articulated very different visions for Exmouth based on their support for, or opposition to, World Heritage designation. Neither was successful in achieving their objectives nor were they satisfied with the result.

The Exmouth Chamber of Commerce and Industry was the most vocal opponents of World Heritage designation and had a vision for the town based on the resources sector that we label the "resources vision." The Chair of the Exmouth Chamber wanted Exmouth to grow to between 4000 and 5000 residents and thought this would only be possible if Exmouth became a service center for the oil and gas industry. Exmouth is located just south of the Northwest Shelf, a huge offshore oil and gas reserve. Exmouth's airport is a point of departure for workers on offshore rigs, who share planes with tourists traveling to fish, snorkel and swim with whale sharks. The important spatial pattern for the resources vision is proximity to the Northwest Shelf and the presence of a regular air service and a viable port for servicing offshore rigs. The Exmouth Chamber aligned itself with pastoralists who owned coastal stations alongside the Ningaloo Reef, and mining interests, and began to vocally oppose designation. A number of untrue rumors began to circulate in Exmouth, including:

> You would need permission from Paris to put a porch[2] on your house.
>
> Exmouth would run out of water as the supply was in the World Heritage area.
>
> All World Heritage areas are 'trashed' by tourists.
>
> You would need permission for meetings larger than 12 people due to the Environmental Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act.

The resources vision group arranged for repeat domestic tourists, many of whom were retired and camped on the pastoral stations for weeks in the region's mild winters, to attend World Heritage listing community meetings in Exmouth where they asked prearranged questions and aggressively opposed World Heritage designation. Their opposition in these meetings was so effective and damaging that they arranged another meeting after the nomination was submitted with a sympathetic politician to further vent their disapproval.

The most prominent local group supporting World Heritage designation was the Cape Conservation Group, a conservation NGO based in Exmouth. They supported designation as a deterrent to oil and gas development which, in the words of one resident, "could prevent or slow Exmouth becoming another Karratha"—a much larger city north of Exmouth that experienced rapid social, economic and environmental change due to the expansion of mining and the presence of a large fly-in workforce. This "conservation vision" viewed Exmouth as a node in World Heritage and ecotourism networks and to be disconnected from the resources industry networks to the north of Exmouth. They also argued for a large World Heritage boundary that included ecological systems that supported the health of Exmouth Gulf as well as Ningaloo Reef.

The politics of local, national and global scales

The meaning of World Heritage (the global level) was radically different for these two groups. The resources vision emphasized external control and restrictions on development, while the conservation vision emphasized tourism opportunities and healthy ecologies. Despite a number of community events and brochures for residents, the opponents of World Heritage were very effective at spreading inaccuracies regarding its effects and meaning. Neither group understood the governance arrangements and their implications for the region, such as the way that national heritage listing was the primary mechanism for the protection of listed values, or what exactly were the values that were being listed.

When addressing the "natural heritage" criterion for World Heritage, the most important species were whale sharks and the region's rare subterranean fauna. Exmouth was where the first whale shark tourism operations began globally in the early 1990s and it features prominently in its marketing. The presence and behavior of whale sharks, the world's largest fish, were important to the World Heritage nomination. Juvenile male whale sharks arrive in Exmouth around March every year and depart by the end of July, providing the basis of the whale shark tourism industry. Swimming with whale sharks is marketed as a once in a lifetime interaction that provides the basis for Exmouth's branding and expands the tourism season. There is little understanding of where whale sharks go at other times of the year, or why they return except that it corresponds with the coral spawning.

Exmouth's subterranean fauna are generally unknown and unappreciated by visitors. They live in a freshwater lens that floats on saline waters underneath Cape Range. This ancient stygofauna exists in a few other places. The stygofaunas' freshwater home is also the source of Exmouth's drinking water. There are

few opportunities even for researchers to interact with stygofauna, and tourists are largely ignorant of their presence. However, their presence was an important inclusion in the World Heritage nomination. The scales of these creatures, whale shark and stygofauna, were emphasized in the nomination but figured little in the local constructions of World Heritage.

While the global level and meaning of World Heritage was hotly contested, the local level was also an arena of conflict, in particular the issue of who spoke for community. The Chair of the Exmouth Chamber, local businessman Barry, became prominent in local and state media as a community voice that opposed designation. He was frequently quoted in the local paper and was visited by politicians and researchers (including us). Most of the people we interviewed in Exmouth said he was an important source of information. Frustration amongst supports of designation peaked when he traveled to Paris to speak as a self-described community representative at a World Heritage Committee meeting in opposition to the designation.

Shortly before the meeting, the Exmouth butcher posted the mobile number of the Chair of the World Heritage Committee in his shop window with a request to message that number if you opposed the designation. The supporters of the conservation vision for World Heritage designation responded with a request through their networks to send a message to that number stating that the Chair of the Exmouth Chamber "does not represent the Exmouth community." The World Heritage Committee Chair estimated he received over 100 messages on his phone and that 90 percent of them supported World Heritage designation. Community, like heritage, is configured through stories that draw "on narratives of place, history and belonging" (Crooke, 2008, 423). While this lobbying had no impact on the World Heritage Committee meeting in Paris, it featured prominently in our interviews with locals. Supporters of World Heritage were outraged that Barry purported to represent the Exmouth community. The question of who could speak for Exmouth and what the 'community' wanted became highly contested throughout the designation process.

Ultimately, the Australian government (the national level), working with the Western Australian Government, pursued a national heritage boundary that was focused on the already protected areas: the Ningaloo Marine Park and Cape Range National Park. It slightly stepped over these boundaries along the coastline to take in a coastal strip of the pastoral stations and added a piece of one station adjacent to the National Park, part of the dramatic Cape Range and some crown land north of the National Park. As the World Heritage Committee relies on national designations to protect World Heritage, this is the national heritage designation that has legal force. National Heritage listings are what matters for the boundaries and rules for World Heritage. Since the National Heritage listing had occurred well before the World Heritage meeting in Paris, the trip to Paris could have no effect on the boundaries or rules for protection of Ningaloo Reef.

The World Heritage Committee shrunk the National Heritage boundaries to not take in any of the pastoral stations or the crown land (most of Cape Range remained listed) due to the objections of the pastoralists to their land being included. Pastoralists typically have 99-year leases over their stations and families can stay on stations for generations. The World Heritage Committee is unlikely to include land in

a World Heritage listing if its owner objects. While this was seen as a victory by the pastoralists, it had no effect on the National Heritage listing or the protection of the area. Neither national or World Heritage boundaries expanded far enough to meet the expectations of the conservation vision who sought a much broader and holistic model of protection for the reef ecosystem. Both supporters of the resources vision and the conservation vision for Exmouth, in their focus on the global and the local, had missed the national level that mattered most to the mechanisms of heritage protection. Both claimed a partial victory.

Conclusion: The usefulness of scale

Scale is an important conceptual tool, not a level (like local or national) and not only a methodological choice (like whether to focus research on households or neighborhoods). It describes the way that spatial patterns and the meaning of levels are defined through scientific, political and other explanations of relationships. Choosing to focus on a particular spatial scale emphasizes particular levels and phenomena. Scale opens up possibilities for heritage management and research. Richie Howitt (1998, 55) writes: "What changes in such analysis is not the elements themselves […], but the relationships that we perceive between them and the ways in which we might emphasize specific elements for analytical attention." Scale helps us understand how the same set of heritage elements are arranged in different ways by different groups, often leading to multiple meanings for a heritage phenomenon. The two groups discussed here constructed World Heritage in very different ways and evoked very different spatial patterns and politics in their visions for Exmouth's future. Scale allows us to understand how heritage is evoked and applied in different ways with very different politics and outcomes, winners and losers.

Designation is a period of becoming when the meaning and scope of heritage are particularly fluid. Messiness is a likely feature of every heritage designation because designation provides opportunities for the expression of different futures and for shifts in the geographical scales of diverse activities and networks. Misinformation, disturbance and agitation are as important and likely as collaboration, dialogue and consensus. Scale should account for these phenomena as part of the relational politics of heritage.

By moving to a more dynamic and critical use of scale, it becomes a tool that heritage research can use to open up the range of politics and relations through which heritage endures. Using new scales to refocus research reveals new insights and perspectives through recognizing overlapping practices and competing perspectives, including why some triumph and others are sidelined. As a tool, scale also assists with more detailed analysis of the role of non-human actors in heritage politics and management through greater attention to their scales of movement and connection, which can disturb and often ignore heritage boundaries. Distribution of oil and gas, the movement of whale sharks and the pilgrimages of coastal campers with their caravans and RVs all played a part in the contests over World Heritage in Exmouth. Revealing and understanding the multiplicity of heritage for a broader range of humans, animals and things is essential to pursuing democratic approaches to heritage.

Notes

1 For a longer discussion of both the use of scale in heritage research and the World Heritage listing of the Ningaloo Coast, see Jones, Jones, and Hughes (2016).
2 The term used in Australia is "put a veranda on your house." The use of the Australian vernacular ("veranda" instead of "porch") makes the imposition even more appalling. The same rumor was present during the debates over the World Heritage listing of Shark Bay 20 years earlier (Jones, Christensen, and Jones, 2019).

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5 Residents and artifacts

Tod Jones and Adrian Perkasa

> **Artefact**: 1 something made or given shape by man [sic.], such as a tool or a work of art, esp. an object of archaeological interest. 2 anything man-made [sic.], such as a spurious experimental result. 3 *Cytology*. A structure seen in tissue after death.
> [C19: from Latin *arte factum*, from *ars* skill + *facere* to make] Truncated definition from the Collins English Dictionary (fourth edition)

Odoric of Pordenone, a well-travelled Franciscan friar, wrote an account of the Majapahit capital in Trowulan in eastern Java following a visit early in the fourteenth century.[1] He described an affluent and comfortable city where there were a variety of spices and provisions available. More sensationally, he wrote of palace interiors and stairs that were coated with gold and silver, and "even the roof" was gilded with gold. Archaeologist John Miksic (2004, 250–2) calls the fourteenth century the Majapahit's golden age due to its sophisticated court, urban center and the extent, variety and quality of its ornaments and tools. Given reports of its scale, opulence and military conquests, it is not surprising Majapahit became an indispensable part of modern Indonesian political identity and nationalist history, much like Rome is for Italy and Athens is for Greece.[2] This attention and resulting flows of resources have made Trowulan a place of coexisting and clashing heritage scales.

While nationalists have attempted to connect the Majapahit to contemporary Indonesians, archaeologists and their institutions have historically diminished and ignored these relationships. Java's English Governor, the famous Thomas Raffles, proposed that the impressive historic structures he discussed in *The History of Java* (1965[1817]) were the product of Indian migrants and not the Javanese. While most archaeologists by the 1920s thought local people built the structures, they were still debating whether locals appreciated this legacy (Bloembergen and Eickhoff 2011, 414–8). A postcolonial echo of this debate was still reverberating in independent Indonesia in the 1980s. The *Archaeological Masterplan of the City Remnants of the Trowulan Majapahit Kingdom*, the development and management guide for Majapahit heritage for over 20 years, held that residents only appreciate the economic value of the artefacts and respond to "to the threat of law" (Proyek Pemugaran dan Pemeliharaan Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala 1986, 14).

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Contemporary academic debates on Trowulan's archeology emphasize its threatened state and focus on accurately determining the location and extent of important sites (Gomperts, Haag and Carey 2008, 2012a, 2012b). Archeologists continue to ask why these sites are not appreciated or adequately protected today. Amrit Gomperts et al. (2012a) locate the answers in Raffle's decision not to publish an archeological site map made for Raffles by Dutch army surveyor Captain J.W.B. Wardenaar in 1815 and the obscure archeological politics of the late colonial period that concealed the location of important sites such as the Majapahit palace. Historian Carey pulls no punches when discussing the threats facing Majapahit artifacts:

> In Trowulan today the hands of the clock stand at five minutes to midnight. Within a generation everything that now remains will have been lost. The only record of what Majapahit once was will be the ghostly gray [sic.] shadows of the former course of the palace walls appearing on satellite images.
>
> (2014, 5–6)

This focus on objects and loss misrepresents the extent to which residents both care for artifacts and pass on knowledge of sites and Majapahit archeology. There is evidence in the archeological research itself that local residents retained and value information on both Majapahit sites and the history of archeological exploration (Gomperts et al. 2012a, 2012b). This knowledge includes place names as well as the historical location of Majapahit era artifacts. These articles also note in passing the knowledge of a local man, Sabar, who worked with the Dutch architect, amateur archeologist and collector Henri Maclaine Pont. His relatives were informants for this recent work and clearly have an intimate knowledge of their excavation and history.

This chapter challenges the preeminence and claims of official and academic heritage management by shifting Sabar and other Trowulan residents from footnotes and passing mentions to the center of contemporary understanding of Majapahit artifacts. This is not just an important ethical intervention that recognizes an untold part of Majapahit history; we argue that recognizing resident relationships with artifacts is essential for a full and fair account and understanding of Majapahit heritage. Following from defining heritage as movement in configuration with an environment established in the first three chapters, we seek to move beyond narrow framings that confine residents' relationships with heritage and make them secondary to the conservation of old objects for use by archeologists and the state. The idea of entanglement, defined in Chapter 3 as interwoven rich patterns of co-becoming with other phenomena including other species and inanimate things, requires that we consider a much broader set of relationships that support Majapahit artifacts. As Trowulan residents are, amongst other things, collectors, artists, looters, Muslims, Javanese spiritualists, brick manufacturers, farmers and caretakers of archeological sites, many overlapping resident regimes of care support Majapahit artifacts' continued presence. Importantly, our broader approach (in this and the next chapter) recognizes the historical emergence of a new set of resident relations with artifacts in Trowulan that has the potential to drive a new transformation of the Trowulan

landscape if narrow, object-oriented conceptions of artifacts, historical knowledge and heritage management can be overcome. Our approach also requires that we reject a narrow definition of artifact as something of archeological interest, and so we propose at the end of this chapter a definition of artifact that is able to cope with the diversity and complexity of their production and use by Trowulan residents. In doing so, we demonstrate the utility of the heritage is movement model for challenging and rethinking key concepts in heritage management.

Our approach aligns this chapter with recent research that confronts the rhetoric about looting and collecting in archeological writings, in particular the division between archeology, elite collecting and vernacular practices of collecting (Byrne 2014; Hart and Chilton 2015; Rose-Greenland 2014). Archeologists are, unsurprisingly, firmly opposed to artifact collecting. This was not always the case. Renaissance collecting was driven by curiosity, which came into tension with science during the Enlightenment period in Europe (Byrne 2014, 165–8). Archeologists have characterized artifact collecting and looting as "self-interested, antiscience and an assault on collective rights to history and memory" (Hart and Chilton 2015, 320). Hart and Chilton (2015) and Denis Byrne (2014, 159–99) strongly challenge these characterizations, pointing out that antiquities collecting continues to overlap with archeology in both its practices and how it values artifacts. Furthermore, Byrne argues that both of these along with local excavations are within the collective set of practices that support antiquities appreciation and circulation. Looting, or informal excavations of artifacts for private collection or sale, is the heritage equivalent of poaching within nature conservation (Jacoby 2003). Informal practices are always shaped through relationships with formal practices and often precede them historically. Like poaching, looting is a characterization of a social practice that both ignores its sociality, local regulations and the complexity of its economics, while strengthening heritage experts' claims for external intervention in regulation and exclusive control. These practices require a nuanced and contextualized account in order to avoid being hidden behind the ideological condemnation of class (Rose-Greenland 2014), postcolonial characterizations and the claims for primacy of the nation-state (Anderson 1990a, 1991, 163–206; Byrne 2014). The heritage management practices of Trowulan residents require a broad account of what constitutes engagement with artifacts and more attention to how residents' entanglements regulate, shape and are enriched by artifacts.

Trowulan: A short history from Majapahit to the present

The foundation of Majapahit in the late thirteenth century by Nararya Sanggramawijaya, also known as Raden Wijaya, has the twists and turns of a Dalziel Hammett novel. Put as simply as possible, when King Kertanagara of Singasari was killed in an attack by his relative soon after Kertanagara upset the Mongols who were expanding into Southeast Asia, his son-in-law Wijaya waged a series of battles against the usurper, before withdrawing, aligning with an invading Mongol force (sent to attack his now deposed father-in-law) to defeat the new King. When the Mongol commander demanded Kertanagara's daughters who were under

Wijaya's protection, he devised an ambush where 200 Mongols were killed, leading them to decide to leave Java (Coedes 1968, 198–201). After several uprisings and rebellions during the reigns of Raden Wijaya and the second King, Jayanegara, the Majapahit Kingdom gained stability and expanded its power during the reign of the third ruler and daughter of Raden Wijaya, Queen Tribhuwana Tunggadewi. As mentioned in inscriptions and the epic court poem *Nagarakretagama*, the policy of expansion was directed under the Prime Minister Rakryan Mapatih Pu Mada, better known as the famous Gajah Mada. Under his direction, the Majapahit army conquered the eastern part of Java and invaded Bali. This kingdom reached its heyday in the era of Hayam Wuruk, the son of Queen Tribhuwana.

Understanding the archeological landscape of the Majapahit, which is located at present day Trowulan (see Figure 5.1), requires an appreciation of how the Majapahit elite practiced politics. Maintaining centralized authority was difficult, and rulers used a mixture of alliances with regional overlords, cults of glory that assigned their person supernatural sanctions and power and military strength (Ricklefs 2001, 20–1). Historian Adrian Vickers (2014) observes that Majapahit was a series of overlapping kingdoms that paid homage to the Majapahit ruler. The co-existence of these kingdoms and the assertion of their power through movement and travel is described in the *Nagarakretagama*, which itself had the original title of *Desawarnana*, or "the description of the region(s)" (Supomo 1979). At this time on Java, politics was fluid and relational, constructing a shifting set of focal points where leaders attracted followers and resources, including through the construction of temples and commissioning holy statues. Important political sites are marked through their alignment

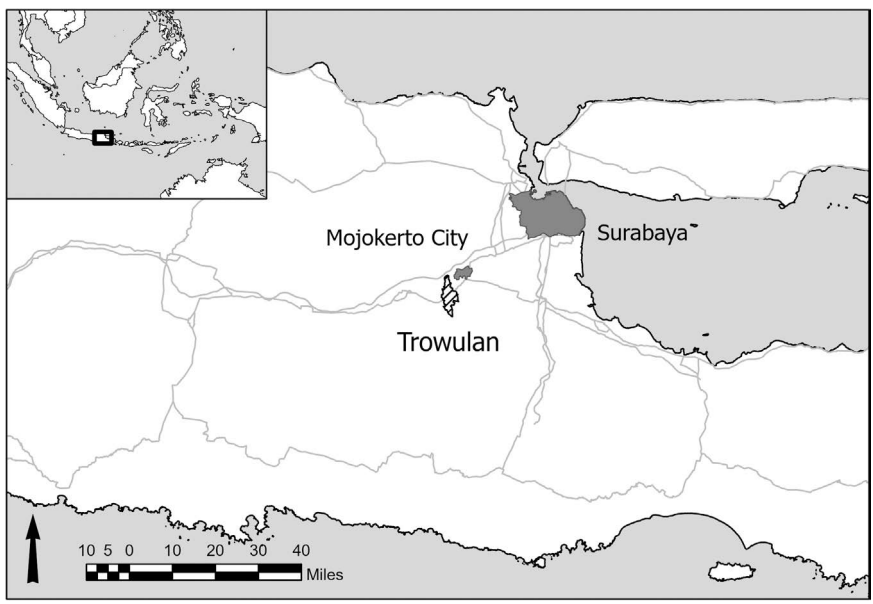

Figure 5.1 Map of Trowulan, East Java, Indonesia. Drafted by Tod Jones.

of people, buildings and art that were sustained for some time before receding as relationships realigned and alternative kingdoms gained and asserted influence.

According to *Nagarakretagama*, Majapahit had many vassal states stretching from the Malay Peninsula to the eastern part of archipelago. Trade, both within Java and beyond, was the key generator of Majapahit wealth. The Majapahit was well located for international traders as these traders mostly focused on the north coast of Java and along the two main rivers, the Brantas and Bengawan Solo. *Nagarakretagama* and the Canggu inscription describe the traders as mainly from China, Ayodhyapura, Jambudwipa (North India), Cambodia, Champa (South Vietnam) and Syangka (Thailand). The reputation of Majapahit is such that the Islamized states that followed often depicted themselves as its successors (Ricklefs 2001, 22).

Majapahit rule lasted until the fifteenth century. After Gajah Mada and King Hayam Wuruk passed away, there was a long conflict in the dynasty, which led to a civil war called *Paregreg*. In the struggle for control, internal conflict tore the Kingdom apart and Majapahit lost control over most vassal states and the coastal area of Java. Residents deserted the capital city in Trowulan and a family branch of Majapahit in Daha (present Kediri) proclaimed themselves the legitimate inheritor of Majapahit authority. Early in the sixteenth century, this kingdom was destroyed by an alliance of north coastal principalities in Java. After its disappearance, the people of Java and the surrounding islands retained memories of and attachments to the Majapahit Kingdom. Bujangga Manik, a Sundanese prince, visited Trowulan in his journey where he found only remnants of buildings and the Court Plaza. Balinese royalty also traveled to Trowulan due to their obligations as descendants of the Majapahit house.

Raffles initiated the first modern documentation of the ruins of Majapahit in Trowulan and dedicated more than 30 pages to the history and antiquities of Majapahit in his *History of Java* (1965[1817]). Raffles worked with J.W.B. Wardenaar, H.C. Cornelius and Dr. Thomas Horsfield. Wardenaar was the most focused on Trowulan. He began his work under Nicolaus Engelhard, VOC's governor of Java's North East Coast, and, as we mentioned earlier, his map was only found in the British archives in 2008 (Gomperts, Haag and Carey 2010).

Wardenaar's map was completed not long before a shift in colonial government policy led to a transformation of the Trowulan landscape. Driven by the Netherlands' deteriorating financial position, Governor-General Johannes van den Bosch (1830–3) implemented the so-called cultivation system (1830–70) where in theory part of each villages' land would be used for cash crop production for the state (Ricklefs 2001, 155–70). While too diverse and haphazard to be considered a system in anything but its title, it did have the effect of expanding Dutch control over land use in the pursuit of profitable cash crops. While little information exists about the specific land changes in and around Trowulan, Bosma (2014) demonstrates that the expansion of sugar and coffee production drew workers into East Java. In Trowulan, land was cleared for sugar production using residents' labor and the Dutch built factories along the Brantas River. Carey (2014, 5) notes that several reports of this period mention massive clearance of bricks from grounds in Trowulan that were being prepared by colonial businessmen for sugar cane.

As often happens when heritage is threatened, the Culture System's transformation of the landscape preceded the next wave of archeological exploration that was driven by the concerns of private individuals, in this case members of the Royal Batavia Society for Arts and Science. These initiatives preceded, then were undertaken in concert with the activities of the Commission for Archaeological Research in Java and Madura that began in 1901, which became the Archaeological Service in 1913. Official archeological activities in Trowulan were accompanied by private ventures, in particular through the Majapahit Archaeological Association (OVM) founded by Maclaine Pont and the Regent of Mojokerto (*Adipati*), Kromo Adinegoro in 1925. The OVM was funded in part by the sugar factories whose activities had led to widespread disturbance of the Majapahit capital. Maclaine Pont and Kromo Adinegoro collected many artifacts in Trowulan and its surrounding area. Kromo Adinegoro was a son of the former regent of Mojokerto, Ario Kromodjojo Adinegoro IV, who founded the Mojokerto Museum and was officially affiliated with the Archaeological Service (Bloembergen and Eickhoff 2011, 412). Maclaine Pont designed and built the on-site museum and formed strong relationships with local residents. When the Japanese interned Maclaine Pont during their occupation of Java in 1942, his archeological projects in Java halted as did the work of the Commission for Archaeological Research. The next wave of official archeological activities, which was the largest investment by far, came under Suharto's New Order regime.

While state activities expanded during Constitutional Democracy (1950–8), they declined along with state revenue during the Sukarno-dominated Guided Democracy (1958–65) period as Indonesia became increasingly internally divided and isolated internationally (Jones 2013, 71–111). Public funding limited state archeological activities until the rise, on the back of international aid then oil revenues, of the General Suharto-led powerhouse state and improving diplomatic relations.[3] It was at this time that the Directorate of Culture put together the *Majapahit Masterplan* (Proyek Pemugaran dan Pemeliharaan Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala 1986) and began its large investment in reconstructing monuments that is the topic of the next chapter. The extent of the Majapahit capital is vast. Its underground structures are thought to be spread across an area between 90 and 100 square kilometers, raising many difficulties for heritage management.[4]

The investment in Majapahit archeological management survived the financial crisis and the fall of Suharto but slowed after the decentralization process through regional autonomy was instituted in 2002. While decentralization transferred control of most regional cultural institutions (such as the cultural centers (*taman budaya*), provincial museums and the regional cultural offices) to the district or provincial level, the Cultural Heritage Conservation Bureaus (henceforth the Conservation Bureau) remained under centralized control within the national Directorate of Culture. Hence the national government was the focus of much of the criticism for the two major Majapahit controversies of the Reform Period.[5] In 2009, the East Java Conservation Bureau approved a plan to build a Majapahit Information Centre on a site where there were a large number of Majapahit era structures (Perkasa 2012, 184–95). This controversy, the most prominent heritage conflict of the Reform Era, started a national conversation

about heritage that led to new national heritage legislation in 2010. The second controversy occurred in 2013 when the Conservation Bureau supported a plan to build a steel factory in Trowulan, once again on the site of buried Majapahit structures. A coalition of resident groups and Indonesian heritage activists opposed the factory and, with support of the World Monument Fund, pressured the Mojokerto and national parliaments to reject the proposal. The second controversy led to Trowulan being listed as a National Heritage Area (*Kawasan Cagar Budaya Nasional*) in December 2013.

The push for heritage protection and related industries (tourism and craft) constitutes one of three drivers of landscape transformation in Trowulan. The second driver is constituted by long-established smallholder farming practices, in particular the production of rice and sugar, that continue to support many of Trowulan's inhabitants. However, these practices and heritage protection are coming under pressure from what we term the Surabaya effect, or the expansion of the peri-urban fringe in connection with increasing urbanization in and around Surabaya, the second largest city in Indonesia after Jakarta. Trowulan is less than an hour drive from Surabaya, a city of 2.8 million. It is also in one of six districts that constitute Gerbangkertosusila (Gresik, Bangkalan, Mojokerto, Surabaya, Sidoarjo and Lamongan) that had a population at the time of the Indonesian census in 2010 of 9.1 million and was projected to be 10 million in 2020 (Ritonga 2015).[6] Its location and growing population, with ready access to Surabaya and relatively cheap land and labor costs, has made it a target for producers of building materials.

The production of bricks and sand mining is the source of much tension given the extent of Majapahit artifacts and the plans for and investment in heritage conservation. While Trowulan residents have produced red bricks and other building materials for hundreds of years, production has increased to keep up with the demands of urbanization. Production of building materials can be divided into large- and small-scale production. Large scale, such as we observed in Jatirejo district in 2016, includes the diversion of rivers and extensive industrial excavation. Small-scale production is based on local brick manufacturers renting part of a field where they excavate the top one to two meters of soil, mold bricks, then fire them in a brick kiln that they construct in the field, shown in Figure 5.2. A brick maker we interviewed was renting 300 square meters for three years for US$1,200 (Rp.16 million) and was selling his new bricks for 2–3 US cents (Rp.300–400) each. Excavation of the top layer of soil often includes excavation of Majapahit era structures. A recent national research project counted over 300 traditional brick factories in Trowulan in 2014. In terms of volume, traditional brick manufacturers are the leading excavators of Majapahit era structures and artifacts. Gomperts et al. (2008, fn.2) estimated that since 1816 over 500 million cubic meters of soils with medieval bricks had been removed. Manufacturers sell the excavated older bricks for over three times what they get for new bricks (Rp.1000–2000 or 8–15 US cents). These large-scale changes to the landscape and the pressure for new factories in proximity to Surabaya are in tension with the local, national and international groups who are seeking the conservation and promotion of Majapahit heritage.

Figure 5.2 Local brick production in Trowulan in a sugar cane field, 2016. Photograph by Tod Jones.

Trowulan resident's regimes of care for Majapahit artifacts

Our interviews with residents and fieldwork indicate local residents have an appreciation of artifacts that is nuanced and critical. Residents have their own set of sanctions, generally expressed as a strong dislike if another resident sells an artifact to a dealer who takes the artifact out of the region and local beliefs held over many generations also regulate engagement with artifacts. It is also important to note variation within residents' relationships. After addressing relations in a more general sense below, we turn to Trowulan artists who have a deeper relationship with artifacts and greater knowledge about them than residents who work in other sectors.

The primary sanction of local residents is a communal condemnation of people who sell Majapahit artifacts to dealers who remove them from the region. The presence of the museum and East Java Conservation Bureau is important to retaining artifacts in the region and, as we discuss in more detail below, local people are employed in a variety of capacities by these institutions. Furthermore, local religious beliefs can prevent people from taking artifacts from important sites. One respondent said: "What is effective is when they take something, they become sick, possessed, crazy. That is an effective sanction because of our community's religious beliefs."[7] The effects of dealing with powerful objects are tracked quite closely in relation to dealers, whose health is regularly subject to attacks from the objects they trade. Certain sites have local sanctions, such as a grave site where local farmers believe there will be a death in their family if they farm there, and

Bajang Ratu, a gate for a large compound that according to local beliefs if passed through, will bring death.

These beliefs relate to the use of powerful objects, or *pusaka*, in popular religion. *Pusaka* is based on a Javanese term that is now spread across Indonesia. It has a variety of meanings that include: things inherited from a dead person; things that were used by ancestors (analogous to heirloom); and an inheritance of special value to a community (Soebadio 1998, 15). Due to its final meaning, the Indonesian Heritage Trust has argued strongly that pusaka is the correct word for heritage in Indonesia since the early 2000s, and it is now often used in newspapers to refer to shared heritage. However, in popular usage, *pusaka* also refers to spiritually powerful objects that have the capacity to intervene in both daily affairs and spiritual life and are often considered to have a personality and soul. *Pusaka* often are important in Javanese literature where they influence the course of events due to their powerful effects. Collecting *pusaka* therefore is a way of collecting power and associated social status (Anderson 1990b, 27), but this needs to be done in the right way as the *pusaka* could cause illness, misfortune or death if the *pusaka* are unhappy. These overlapping dimensions, where Majapahit objects and sites are valued as heirlooms, but also have the capacity to intercede in the lives of residents and visitors, is an important element of Trowulan resident relations with artifacts that influences how artifacts are treated and local site management.

Trowulan appears to differ to Byrne's (2014) observations at archeologically rich Bantuan in the Philippines in that working-class local people have their own collections of lower value artifacts.[8] For instance, Figure 5.3 is a small collection of

Figure 5.3 A personal collection of Majapahit era small statue heads, 2016. Photograph by Tod Jones.

statue heads that was shown to us in 2016. These are not *pusaka*, but an effect of local interest in Majapahit material culture. Formal sanctions protecting artifacts can result in jail time of up to 15 years and a fine of up to approximately $US375,000,[9] but our informants only mentioned a single time a person was prosecuted, which occurred in the 1970s to an East Java Conservation Bureau staff member.[10] As it is not illegal to sell an artifact to a collector within Indonesia, local sanctions are both more geographically restrictive and more often applied.

Similarly to Deerfield, Massachusetts in the USA (Hart and Chilton 2015, 328), there is local distrust of the Conservation Bureau. When artifacts are reported to the Conservation Bureau, they are often not seen again as they go into storage and the museum is inadequate for displaying very expensive artifacts. Furthermore, there are local rumors staff at the museum have sold objects or exchanged them with new objects. However, the division between East Java Conservation Bureau staff and Trowulan residents is not clear-cut. East Java Conservation Bureau staff live in Trowulan, and there are many long-term local residents who work in various capacities for the Conservation Bureau. This includes most of the caretakers (*Juru Pelihara*) for local shrines, eight of which receive large numbers of visitors. As a retired Conservation Bureau staff member whose family has lived in Trowulan for many generations asserted, these jobs are important to changing attitudes as disseminating understanding about the history and value of artifacts spreads through the knowledge of local people.[11] Trowulan residents also selectively make use of conservation rules and policing and will contact the police or Conservation Bureau staff if they see activity that they regard as suspicious.

Many of our respondents reported that residents had in the past sold artifacts to brokers who are likely to have sold them to overseas collectors. Similarly to Byrne's (2014) account of "looters" in Batuan, there was a strong economic motive given the low level of wealth in Trowulan historically, but there was also local resistance to these sales. Furthermore, such circulations are an element of the same systems where knowledge and prestige circulate for archeologists and historians. In the present times, locating artifacts of higher value is rare and, as stated by the Head of the History, Museum and Archaeology Section in the East Java Office of Culture and Tourism, most such finds now are newly manufactured by Trowulan artists.[12] Furthermore, their skills and techniques make the new artifacts indistinguishable to Trowulan Museum staff.

The New Majapahit Art

The intimate relationship between Trowulan artists and Majapahit artifacts has a long and interesting history. It can be traced to the relationship between the Dutch architect Maclaine Pont and a local man, Sabar, who lived in the village of Bejijong.[13] Sabar was born in the 1900s to a farming family with some experience in making terracotta items. Sabar began working for Maclaine Pont in 1924 when he started designing the old Majapahit Museum. Maclaine Pont and Sabar built a close working relationship that included working together on a statue of Jesus in the Pohsarang Catholic Church in Kediri, East Java, that Maclaine Pont designed

(itself important to Indonesian architectural history due to its combination of European and Indonesian architecture) and completed in 1936. After Maclaine Pont was interred by the Japanese and his archeological work stopped in 1942, Sabar continued to look after his artifact collection and correspond with him.[14] In an interview, Sabar's grandson Nuryadi explained his grandfather's emotional connection to Majapahit artifacts:

Nuryadi: When Maclaine Pont returned to the Netherlands, Sabar had a moral obligation to protect Maclaine Pont's collection.
Adrian: Did Sabar continue to protect it?
Nuryadi: Yes, as the legacy of Maclaine Pont, Sabar felt a moral responsibility to protect the collection.[15]

Sabar moved his workshop to in front of the museum and lived behind it. From 1949 until his retirement in 1965, he worked in an unwaged capacity at the museum, generating income from commissions from visitors and other work connected to the collection. In the 1950s, his son Hariadi Sabar stated that his family with his second wife Rubeni[16] and his seven children were very poor and at times could not afford the Javanese staple of rice. A few months before he retired in 1965, he was appointed to a waged position in the East Java Conservation Bureau so that he could claim a pension. As we previously noted, his familiarity with Majapahit artifacts and archeology is such that his family remains key informants for archeologists working in Trowulan (Gomperts et al. 2012a, 2012b).

While the history to 1965 demonstrates one family's strong connection to Majapahit material culture, Sabar was also a key contributor following his retirement to what we call the New Majapahit Art. At this time, he moved back to Bejijong and began experimenting with producing Majapahit statues, initially using lead and simple forms (such as animals), then progressing to metal and bronze and more complex forms. He started to sell his statues in front of the museum and to shops in Surabaya. His orientation, based on his extensive knowledge of Majapahit artifacts, was toward classical work in the style of the Majapahit with the goal of replicating their skill and design. It is difficult now to locate Sabar's statues and it is likely that his mark on them has worn down with time. The one statue we located was a bust he made of himself in the workshop of his son Hariadi Sabar (see Figure 5.4). Sabar taught his family, friends and neighbors how to manufacture metal objects including large statues, generating employment opportunities. Hariadi is the most well-known bronze artist in Trowulan and has worked with the staff and students of the nationally prominent Jakarta Arts Institute (*Institut Kesenian Jakarta*, IKJ) since 1986. According to Hariadi, over 150 people in Bejijong work in some capacity in the production of metal statues, jewelry and other objects.[17] Sabar passed away in 1996.

Today, Trowulan artists are perhaps even better known for their stone statues. Stone statue production began after metal in 1977 with the work of a blacksmith, Harun, and then Wagiran in the nearby village of Jatisumber. With the decline of blacksmith work, Harun turned to stone sculpture. Most of the stone sculptors

Figure 5.4 Sabar. A bronze bust of the artist, date unknown. Photograph by Tod Jones with permission of Hariadi Sabar.

today relate directly to these two founders. Wagiran was the father of Wakidi, who taught many of the sculptors in Jatisumber, including the internationally successful Ribut. Stone sculpture has become a successful exporting business, with 75% of production of the sculptors we interviewed being produced for an international market (see Figure 5.5). A third industry, which has not received the same level of national recognition, is the production of terracotta Majapahit art. Terracotta art tends to receive lower prices and is more easily mass-produced.

The presence of the museum and sites is essential to the emergence, forms and operations of the New Majapahit Art. Sabar's close relationship with artifacts in the museum both inspired his experimentation, led to his practice and influenced demand for Majapahit art. Sabar and other early artists knew that the presence of Majapahit artifacts attracted collectors who were interested in purchasing high quality copies as well as original Majapahit art. The museum was the only point of reference for early artists who visited often as they experimented with production

Figure 5.5 Wawan's outdoor workshop in Jatisumbur, Trowulan, 2016. Photograph by Tod Jones.

techniques and styles.[18] Both Hariadi and Ribut, currently the two of the most successful artists, still visit the museum weekly and make regular visits to sites both inside and outside Trowulan. While younger artists are more likely to work from images, the connection to the museum remains. A younger artist, Tono, said to us: "If I get stuck, I go to the museum."[19] Stone sculptor Ribut links the presence of Majapahit art to the meshwork:

> I myself still really feel that it [the art] is an impact from the museum, from the sites. Maybe not just here. One example in Magelang, there are sculptors. […] There are lots of sites. […] It's an impact from the environment, an effect of the environment.[20]

Despite these amazing relationships, artists are uncomfortable in the museum due to accusations of copying.[21] Majapahit stone sculpture in particular has reached a level of technical production that, with contemporary techniques for aging, makes it very difficult to know if an artifact is new or from the Majapahit era. Furthermore, the museum now asks senior artists to make such determinations, such is their familiarity and understanding of Majapahit artifacts, old and new.[22]

Despite its recent providence, the New Majapahit Art functions similarly to regional (in Indonesia, called *seni tradisi* or traditional) arts and craft industries in Indonesia. There is no copyright, little branding and any disagreements between artists are handled within the community. Apprenticeships can last from five to ten years, depending on the skill of the apprentice,[23] and almost all of the artists are

men. The villages and genealogies of different families determine the geography of the New Majapahit Art. While some artists became famous for their skill, they were not famous for a particular work but rather for their mastery of the Majapahit style and their craft. Similarly to regional artists interviewed by Lorraine Aragon and James Leach (2008), there was an agreed on canon drawing from known Majapahit artifacts, sites and styles, and novelty consists of the perfection and development of the canon. Again, like traditional artists, not all copying is permitted, and artists do at times get offended, although no ownership over a particular design has been enforced. One well-known artist moved his studio inside his compound due to the speed at which his works were being copied. The important division in Trowulan is between higher quality classical works drawing from Hindu and Buddhist traditions and mass-produced forms for quick sale. This reflects both the skill required from the artist and the demands of the market. Indeed, production is influenced by national and international markets. The peak time for statue production followed the monetary crisis that began in 1997 when exchange rates suited exporting and labor costs were low. At this time Ribut had 50 people working for him but also mentioned that the quality of the work suffered. This period of high demand ended when the terrorist group Jemaah Islamiyah bombed a busy bar in Bali in 2002 that greatly reduced the Bali market for art exports.[24]

Until now, the New Majapahit art has been characterized as making replicas that undermine museums, galleries and collectors' efforts to protect the provenance and value of Majapahit art. Such judgments rely on a modern conception of creating that divides the process of design and making (Ingold 2007). This division is inappropriate to regional art production in Indonesia and similar systems of production elsewhere (Aragon and Leach 2008). The division between design and making, essential to modern ideas about creativity and copyright (Leach 2007), misrepresents both the way creating art occurs in the acts and combinations of making, and the creativity and skill required for imitation. Creation requires skilled interaction within an environment learnt through years of watching and imitating. I quote Tim Ingold (2007, 50) at length here because he captures the dynamics of the New Majapahit Art that is missed when complaints are leveled at replication:

> Far from yielding a concrete and objectified end-product, every performance is just one moment in the work's concrescence—its ongoing generation. This idea is reinforced by a method of learning in which, through repetitive practice in copying or imitating previous or classic exemplars, novices incorporate the movements and sensibilities of the masters into their own bodily comportment, only to surpass them in the development of their own personal style. At no point, however, do they cease to copy. For every original is a copy in that it is modelled on previous studies, and every copy is an original in that it can become a model for those who follow.

Replication of an exceptional art form is a rare creative achievement. Replication of art that has not been practiced for over 400 years and the achievement of art of such quality that experts struggle to identify its providence is phenomenal.

Trowulan artists understand the process of creating Majapahit artifacts better than internationally educated experts. The sculptors' movements require an affective, embodied connection to Majapahit art across time in order to replicate. To represent the New Majapahit Art as underhand or criminal misunderstands its origins, operations and achievements, and inhibits opportunities for museums to work together with Trowulan artists. Museums prefer to worry about imitations and sell photographs and modern designs in their shops than to support the contemporary, ongoing creation of art movements like the New Majapahit Art.

While the attitude of museums to local production is a negative colonial legacy, an important insight from Trowulan is that colonial relationships are transformed in the meshwork of local lives. The New Majapahit Art is an excellent example of this transformation. Here the focus on the historical markers of Greater India that still dominates archeology (Bloembergen and Eickhoff 2011, 2013, 2015), through extensive engagement and experimentation, has become the basis for a skilled local engagement that is entwined with place, family, livelihoods and history. Furthermore, this is not an isolated incident. Magellan in Central Java also has many artifacts, sites and artists. It occurs in other countries. Fiona Rose-Greenland's (2014, 571) ethnography of "looters" in Italy also identifies a "moral code that militates against certain practices," detailed knowledge passed down within families and their criminalization by the state. She also identifies replication of, in this case, Eritrean wares as a basis for local manufacturing that were also dismissed by educated elites despite their remarkable similarity to ancient ceramics. Similar complexities and dismissal of local knowledge and relationships were identified in Northern Peru (Smith 2005). The colonial legacy that remains to be overcome is the vast gap in appreciation and attention between the categories of archeologists' and heritage managers' practices on the one hand, and artists' and residents' practices on the other, and to the physical objects to which they give their attention and care.

Putting art back into artifacts

While recent archeological research is rigorous and important, its archeological and historical framing limits its capacity to appreciate residents' entanglements with Majapahit artifacts. In archaeologists' writings, local residents' knowledge and practices are only recognized as inputs to archeological work. Privileging archeological practices in perspectives on Trowulan limits what is considered to be of historical importance (valuable artifacts), limits what can be considered to be relevant information and, most dangerously, seeks limits on how, by whom and for whom these sites should be managed.

We began this chapter with a dictionary definition of artifact that explained its etymology as coming from the Latin term arte factum, from *ars* meaning skill, and *facere* meaning to make. In its original meaning, artifact was "skilled making," referring to the act rather than the object. However, the idea of artifacts has come to be dominated by objects, things "made or given shape by humans." Of course, things are never shaped just by humans but are the product of environments where

humans are one of many forces engaging materials and surfaces. Artists' skilled interaction with stones shapes statues, but then the statues are worked on by wind, rain, lichen, animals, soil, restorers, cloths and chemical cleaners to give them form. The second definition of artifact, as "anything man-made, such as a spurious experimental result" references how artifacts are also the results of particular sets of relations (including but not limited to investigative procedures), effects of human investigation and interest. Artifact-as-objects are also effects of the colonial and postcolonial production of history that creates a valued past and a contemporary scale of value in museums and galleries. In my experience discussing the New Majapahit Art, international museums are more concerned with maintaining regimes of value of museum objects than the emergence of a living Majapahit art sustained within the livelihoods and lifeworlds of Trowulan residents that is producing a stream of new artifacts.

If heritage is the relationship between objects and environments that draws from and expounds on a valued past, then there is an argument to be made for the equivalence of New Majapahit Art with the original artifacts. If we recognize Trowulan artists' skills and practice as heritage, then we are left with the question of why the products of their skill are not also designated as heritage. Just as it is impossible to differentiate the physical manifestation of a dance or a ceremony from the skills and knowledge of its creators and their interactions with their environments, so it is impossible to separate skilled production of Majapahit art, old or new, from Majapahit artifacts.

While these points indicate correspondence between Majapahit artists' practices across six to ten centuries, a second correspondence is between the practices of archeologists and artists. Heritage experts are only one of many sets of skilled interactions with environments that produce artifacts. These are important points for heritage studies as heritage conservation can be represented as keeping objects the same (an impossible task) when it is really, like the creation of a new piece of Majapahit art, a skilled process of controlling material flows. While an archeologist spends five to ten years studying to recognize and understand the shape and material composition of artifacts, Trowulan artists spends the same length of time learning from knowledge generated and held within their community how to interact with materials to create artifacts. While museums use state funding and expert knowledge to establish regimes of care, cleaning, security and investigation for old artifacts at archeological sites and in museums, Trowulan artists use national and international markets to employ community members to deliver and shape materials into new artifacts in their outdoor workshops. Both groups have strong emotional and affective connections with Majapahit art.

Focusing on the skilled engagement of people with their environment, learnt through stories passed down through families and educational institutions and many years of interaction with materials, also raises the question of who holds what valuable information. While historical information from archeologists is valuable, so is information from artists as they are most closely able to reproduce Majapahit era relations within an environment through their skilled interaction with materials, evidenced through the quality of the New Majapahit art and its resemblance to

Majapahit Art. Artists' knowledge is not just of artisanal skills, but also of materials, extending to the histories of stones. Ribut spoke of the qualities of stone:

> As an example, we can talk about a stone statue, right, with one example taken from the ground or a river. The erosion is different. If it is from the ground the color will definitely be influenced from the soil there. If it is the soil from here, it will often tend to be brownish. If stone is in water flows, the erosion is different as well as being more porous. If there is more than one direction [of water flows] it tends to be mossy when it rains then gets hot, so the erosion is different.[25]

A greater engagement between artists and archeologists would be of great benefit to both groups because of their appreciation of Majapahit artifacts and their capacity to open up the lifeworld of Majapahit people in ways of interest and use to us today.

A narrow emphasis on heritage management needs to be challenged. The privileging of a past historical period allows archeologists and others to make ambit claims for exclusive land use that ignores contemporary and ongoing relationships with those environments. An example is the recent work on Trowulan:

> The implementation of a robust regime of archaeological site preservation is imperative to ensure that future generations of archaeologists are not deprived of access to the glory that was pre-colonial Java.
>
> (Gomperts et al. 2010, 13)

Such claims place the priorities of archeologists over the priorities of residents who have long and ongoing relations and claims of their own to these sites. It also ignores the complaints of residents about the effects of narrow heritage management. Gomperts et al.'s (2012b, 19) request that "the first thing which should be done is to put a fence around the former Lemah Tulis cemetery in order to protect it from the attention of treasure hunters" closely echoes the complaints of a resident that the Conservation Bureau "just put up fences."[26] Residents are entangled with these sites and Majapahit artifacts, and such exclusive claims for control have the potential to cause lasting damage to both residents and sites. These claims need to be reconsidered with attention to the ethics and intent of working with the meshwork of resident environments, rather than ignoring it, if the failures of management are not to be endlessly replicated. Such issues of site management are the topic of the next chapter.

Notes

1 Coedes (1968, 232) The Indianized states of Southeast Asia provides a summary of Oderic's visit.

2 Sutan Sjahrir, the former Indonesian Prime Minister and Foreign Minister (1945–7), referred to Majapahit as one of the historical forerunners of a united Indonesia when he argued for Indonesian independence from Dutch control in front of the UN Security Council in 1947 (Carey, 2014, 2). Indonesia's first president, Sukarno, made regular references to the Majapahit as a glorious precursor to the contemporary Indonesian nation-state, as did Mohammad Yamin's path-setting nationalist histories.

3 See Geertz (1972) and Schiller (1996) on the concept of the powerhouse state. It refers to the growth of revenue and therefore funds for staff and new initiatives, increasing the capacity and importance of the state. Diplomatic relations had declined severely under the leadership of Sukarno between 1957 and 1965 as he maneuvered to maintain political power in an increasingly divided and dangerous political landscape. This included withdrawing from the United Nations (UN) in 1965. After Suharto took power in the same year, relations were normalized and Indonesia rejoined the UN (Jones, 2013).
4 Two of our informants who were senior officials in BPCB East Java stated that the extent was 91 square kilometers, which is the extent of the National Heritage Area. Peter Carey notes a similar sized area.
5 The political period that began with the forced resignation of Suharto in 1998.
6 For 2010 Indonesian census data, see: http://sp2010.bps.go.id/index.php/site/tabel?tid=321&wid=3500000000.
7 Interview 4E (2016).
8 Césard (2013) similarly notes in his study of prestige jars in Borneo that not all jars are *pusaka*.
9 Undang Undang Nomor 5 Tahun 1992 tentang. Benda Cagar Budaya pasal 105. This is the fine for destroying an artifact. The maximum jail term for trading is five years and the maximum fine is still a substantial $US110,000.
10 Interview 4C.
11 Interview 4C.
12 Interview 4M.
13 It should be noted that this is an oral history based on interviews with Sabar's family (interviews 4C, 5B, 5D) and artists in Trowulan (interviews 4D, 4E, 4F, 4G, 5C, 5D, 5E), supported by some archival research and should be regarded as an overview. The history of the New Majapahit Art requires much greater documentation, archival research and interviews both within and outside Trowulan.
14 Sabar's son and nationally renowned bronze sculptor Hariadi Sabar told us that Sabar used to take messages to Maclaine Pont when he was interred concealed in grass that he said he brought in to feed the horses (interview 5D).
15 Interview 4C.
16 Sabar's first wife, Sumi, had three children and passed away before Sabar married Rubeni, who gave birth to four children.
17 Interview 5D.
18 Interviews 4C, 5B, 5C, 5D.
19 Interview 4D.
20 Interview 5C.
21 Interviews 5D, 5E.
22 Interviews 4B, 4M.
23 Interview 5C.
24 Interview 5C, 5D.
25 Interview 5C.
26 Interview 4D.

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6 Sites

Reconstruction and resident relationships with Majapahit heritage

Tod Jones and Adrian Perkasa

Reconstructed shrines in Trowulan have a strikingly different physical form and management to smaller shrines. The large reconstructed shrines are located in the center of European-style, well-maintained gardens surrounded by grass, with a fence around them and an entry post where visitors pay a fee. Most of the visitors come from outside Trowulan, and during the day, there are large tour buses at the sites ferrying school children on excursions who spend half an hour at a reconstructed shrine before moving to the next one. The smaller shrines are quieter with less visitation and are used by residents as much if not more than visitors. They tend to be compact, with tall trees on or next to their boundaries and hard surfaces that are swept clean. This contrast initially appeared to us to be a dichotomy that indicated the usefulness of understanding heritage as movement in configuration with an environment. The strikingly different levels and flows of resources, types and temporalities of use, and regimes of care shaped and maintained two apparently very different sets of heritage sites. However, conversations with residents and archival research revealed a great deal more complexity.

Analyzing heritage as a movement focused our attention on the importance of stories at the sites and how these shape the interactions and uses of different people and institutions. People's perceptions were complex and site specific. Just as the simplistic division of state-run, reconstructed monumental sites and resident-run and maintained community sites in Trowulan blurred when we started talking to residents and officials, so did the political division of Islam-secular and historical division of Islamic-Greater Indian civilizations that generally structure analysis of Indonesian heritage management. We are not arguing that these divisions are unimportant for heritage sites; we are arguing that the diverse ways they are important are revealed through analysis of how they shape perceptions of people at the sites. These perceptions, communicated through stories about the site, are what governs the configuration of the heritage site with its environment, giving it meaning and shape. Trowulan residents are central to understanding sites (similar to their importance to artifacts in Chapter 5) as the historical emergence and complexity of their relationships with heritage sites is what causes and maintains a large and diverse regional heritage. Our central argument, taken from Chapter 1 and following from its application to artifacts in Chapter 5, is that the physical form and valued relationships

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of Majapahit heritage sites, and indeed all heritage sites, are best comprehended through focusing on the configuration of heritage with its environment.

In this chapter, we start with reconstruction of heritage sites and then popular Islam in Indonesia as they are two of the main influences on how sites are perceived and managed. In order to analyze the differences in heritage management between sites, we employ the concept of territory critically applied through the idea of meshwork, or the interlocking lines of growth and movement that constitute an environment, as we explain in the first three chapters. Territory draws attention to differences in spatial management and the amounts and types of work and investment that are required under different management regimes. We then turn to the experiences of sites and residents in Trowulan at both larger reconstructed and smaller resident-managed sites. Trowulan reveals the complexities of site management and how all sites, since none are exempt from the meshwork of people's environments, are constantly shifting in form and use.

Reconstructing the Majapahit

Trowulan is the largest cultural heritage region in Indonesia and is the location of a number of shrines that tourists and residents regularly visit. Like most Indonesian heritage regions, there have been large investments in reconstructing monuments to imagined original states. Reconstruction started in Trowulan in the 1980s after a 1986 report recommended reconstructing 16 monuments. The decision to reconstruct shrines has a long history dating back to debates within Dutch colonial archaeology in the early twentieth century and nationalist use of the past that began in the same period.

The most famous reconstruction in Indonesia is the Buddhist Borobudur temple near Yogyakarta. Borobudur was the focus of an international UNESCO-led "safeguarding" project and was completed in 1983 with a huge Borobudur festival where Suharto and the Director General of UNESCO Mahtar M'Bow addressed numerous visiting dignitaries (Bloembergen and Eickhoff 2015c). However, the most influential reconstruction was the Siwa temple at nearby Prambanan, the area which contains the largest number of reconstructed temples, whose completion was celebrated in equally grand style in a ceremony overseen by Indonesia's first President Sukarno in 1953. Reconstruction work at the Prambanan temple complex, which began in the 1910s and continues to the present, pioneered reconstruction methods in Asia, influencing heritage management at Angkor Wat (Bloembergen and Eickhoff 2011). Marieke Bloembergen and Martijn Eickhoff (2011) trace the preference for reconstruction over preserving objects as they are found (*in situ*), as has long been the case in the Netherlands and much of Europe, to debates in Dutch colonial archaeology in the 1910s and 1920s. These debates began with discussions over the reconstruction work for the Siwa Temple. On the back of accusations that the Dutch architect P.J. Perquin had been too free with his interpretation, another Dutch architect H.P. Berlage in 1923 wrote a report that argued against reconstruction as he judged Hindu and Buddhist archaeological sites in Indonesia to have no

utility in the present due to changed religious and social structures. He interpreted the offerings by Javanese as expressions of extant animist belief. F.D.K. Bosch, the head of the colonial Archaeological Service, took an opposing position that was strongly expressed at the second conference of the Java Institute, an organization of Javanese elite and Europeans, in 1924. A number of presentations, including Bosch's presentation, stressed the contemporary importance of these monuments for the Javanese and the need for their reconstruction. He argued for their utility for the present, in particular how they met the spiritual needs of the Javanese elite and potentially the Javanese people more broadly. In 1926, it was recommended that reconstruction as well as preservation be the responsibility of the Archaeological Service (Bloembergen and Eickhoff 2011).

Benedict Anderson (1991, 181–3) observed that colonial powers used archaeology to justify their authority through adopting the role of guardian for globally important but also local historical remains. The focus of their attention in Indonesia was generally the "classical" period of Hindu and Buddhist influence or prehistory (Bloembergen and Eickhoff 2011, 414). Like other colonial states in Southeast Asia (Byrne 2014, 64), the Dutch differentiated between "dead" monuments that they judged to no longer be used and "living" monuments that were still used and managed. The "dead" sites chosen for reconstruction became the symbols of the benevolent late-colonial power that were reproducible as reports, books and logos. Colonial research, artifacts and sites then became the historical proof and monuments nationalists required to prosecute their case for independent nation-states (Anderson 1991, 183; Bloembergen and Eickhoff 2011). This led to the situation where a country that is predominantly Islamic has national icons and often local state-protected sites that are Hindu or Buddhist. Islamic organizations generally manage Islamic sites and colonial sites were generally ignored unless they were connected in some way to the revolutionary period or an important national event.[1]

While Anderson (1990, 1991) emphasizes the nationalist claims and uses of heritage sites, Bloembergen and Eickhoff (2011, 2013, 2015b) demonstrate that many other sets of connections exist, including seekers of "Greater India," followers of Buddhism and adherents of the archaeologists themselves. They write:

> the colonial Archaeological Service, by deciding on "pro" reconstruction as a principle possibility in restoration politics, and by developing related techniques and skills, provided an important basis for future Indonesian archaeological research projects, restorations and reconstructions. These forms of site interventions are crucial for convincing visualizations of the past, be it a local past or a national past.

This chapter supplements Bloembergen and Eickhoff's emphasis on the multiplicity of sites, including their acknowledgments of local connections and engagement with archaeological practices, through our emphasis on the movement of people and things at the sites themselves. They demonstrate that local priorities and uses, despite official representations, can differ from the priorities of the nation-state and Archaeological Service (Bloembergen and Eickhoff 2011, 2015a).

While Bloembergen and Eickhoff emphasize broader connections and movements, generally through archaeology, religion and nationalism, our focus is on the sites as configurations within their environments in particular how archaeological, religious and nationalist stories shape the sites. Local for us means residents as distinct from nationalists, and we add the mundane work of maintaining sites to their focus on dramatic reconstructions and international connections. It is at this level that the importance of popular religion, largely absent from Bloembergen and Eickhoff's considerations, becomes apparent.

Islam and heritage

In June 2017, Indonesian social and online media was momentarily amused by the online claim that Gajah Mada, the great Majapahit Chief Minister (Mahapatih), was a follower of Islam whose name was really Gaj Ahmada (Sheik Ahmada). While this debate was for the most part viewed with incredulity and laughter (including memes of the great "Islamic" political writer Khairil Marq who wrote *Al dash Qapital*), it touches on an area of great sensitivity in Java; the proper relationship between Islam and the Indonesian nation. One reading of these tensions is political. Thomas Reuter (2010, 178) dramatically refers to a "cosmological battle for the soul of the nation" between cultural-nationalism and a national revival of Islamic piety. While this division is complex and should not be simplified, Reuter (2010) usefully documents a growing tendency in Indonesia for Islamic values and sensibilities to be treated with great sensitivity in public debate and decision-making.[2] Historian Merle Ricklefs (2012) similarly judges that Islamic values dominate public space on Java, and that there has been a general increase in Islamic piety at the expense of more syncretic religious practices. Islam in Indonesia is far from uniform. Ricklefs (2012) points to a competition over the definition of Islamic values between (and within) traditionalists, revivalists and modernists and Reuter (2010, 178) acknowledges the diversity among adherents. Islam has a much looser organizational structure than Christian denominations (such as the Catholic, Anglican or Greek Orthodox churches), so increasing piety in Indonesian Islam is not a top-down process. Despite and in some ways due to these shifts, Islam and its relationship to Javanese spirituality (*kejawen*) has become essential to understanding the configurations of different heritage sites in Trowulan and Java. Observer of popular religion in Java, George Quinn (2009, 264) comments:

> [Perhaps] it seems that the higher public profile of Islamic piety in Indonesia today may be strengthening the capacity of local traditions to survive, provided they manage to find a place within that piety. Although modernist Islam emphasises its "rational" character, it also makes possible the reconciliation of local and global, of factual and fantastic.

A set of similar practices, involving the veneration and intercession of ancestors, exist within a range of religions across Indonesia (Chambert-Loir and Reid 2002b).

The importance of devotional practices in popular religion to heritage is not confined to Indonesia. As discussed in Chapter 3, Denis Byrne (2009, 2014) highlights the capacity of religious objects in Asia to act on people because of their supernatural power. Byrne (2014, 33) draws attention to the relationships between the sites themselves and the perceptions and practices of devotees:

> The built fabric of a temple is not a mere shell that devotees occupy, it is an active environment of visual, aural, olfactory, and tactile stimuli that help transport worshippers into what might be described as a liminal state of being between the earthly and heavenly realms. Worship and worshippers are inextricably bundled up with the building and its effects, the whole bundle being a kind of ecology in which worshippers and built fabric merge into each other.

Byrne (2014, 100) views heritage expertise as stripping "religious objects and places away from religion as an experiential field" undermining the very practices that shape and maintain sacred places. While this is an important critique, we also recognize that residents make use of sites in a number of ways and that such transformations rarely erase the preceding practices or emotional connections. Attention to flows should record the full range of practices that can be lost in hard conceptual dichotomies.

An important difference in Indonesia to the countries in Southeast Asia Byrne uses in *Counterheritage* is the size and extent of adherents of Islam, particularly on Java, and the shifting relationship between Islam and *kejawen*, or Javanese spiritualism.[3] According to the 2010 census, the population of Indonesia was 237 million of which 207 million identified as Islamic.[4] The population on Java in 2010 was 136 million of whom 131 million identified as Islamic.[5] When Clifford Geertz's (1960) influential book, *The religion of Java* was published, the majority of Javanese Muslims followed what Ricklefs (2012, 7) calls the mystic synthesis, where adherents identified as Islamic, followed the five principles of Islamic religion (confession of faith, five daily prayers toward Mecca, giving alms, fasting during the holy month of Ramadan and, when possible, pilgrimage to Mecca) as well as accepting the reality of local Javanese spiritual forces who often intervened in daily life. Javanese spiritualist beliefs mixed with Sufi practices (an individual-oriented and contemplative version of Islam) to shape popular religion. The Islamic reform movements of the eighteenth and particularly nineteenth centuries that increased modernist Islamic practices among Muslims (such as a more literal interpretation of the Quran) were slow to take hold on Java, but they have profoundly influenced practices since the 1960s and in particular since the resignation of Suharto in 1998.

The growth of adherence to Islam in Java has boosted rather than reduced visits to heritage sites such as the graves of Islamic saints, heroes and ancestors (Hellman 2017; Laksana 2014). Thousands of such sites exist and their diversity is described by one commentator as "bewildering" (Hellman 2017, 79). Their popularity is due to the power of generally ancestors or saints but also other spirits (for example guardian spirits at dramatic formations in the landscape)[6] to intervene in spiritual and daily life and, in particular, to intercede between God (Allah) and humans.

Historians Henri Chambert-Loir and Anthony Reid (2002b) called their book *The Potent Dead* to highlight the contemporary importance of the dead for Indonesians (and Javanese in particular) today. These practices continue to have a strong spatial dimension. In Jörgen Hellman's (2017, 79) terms, "these sites are important for communication across the 'gap' between the mundane and transcendental worlds."

Grave sites are particularly important for such intercessions. Chambert-Loir (2002, 139) writes:

> The most frequent type of grave is that which is found in a village or its immediate outskirts. In spite of the increasing orthodoxy (witnessed by the construction of many new mosques for and public attendance at the Friday prayer), those graves represent one of the main centres of religious life of the village. There the population goes for individual prayers or community festivals.

The links formed through practices at these sites are of reciprocity and interaction with the dead, modernist interpretations of Islam and other religions (Ricklefs 2012). Chambert-Loir (2002, 136) also notes that there are many instances of grave sites "linked to some historical remains," and, that although transformations at sites may appear small, they are complex "because the Islamisation of a site, however superficial it may appear, goes in many cases together with new rites" (2002, 139).

Hellman (2017) argues that the secular state and Islam both attempt to control interactions through spatial management of sacred sites and there is significant evidence that Javanese spiritual practices are being marginalized from public space (Ricklefs 2012). For instance, Hellman (2017) records the way that Islamic organizations attempt to control these interactions and rites through providing guides and instructions, while the secular state reinforced the gap through presenting ancestors as examples of historical objects and part of past traditions. Reconstruction clearly fits into the latter category as it displaces ancestors and upsets them (Pemberton 1994). However, it also opens up other types of relationships and often does not preclude residents from communing with ancestors or other spirits on the well-cared-for lawns. The Islam-cultural nationalist division should not preclude awareness of other flows, including, as George Quinn (2009) notes, commerce and a good story. While offering a nuanced and interesting account of the types of interactions that shape these sites, a shift from a historical to a spatial analysis of sites requires concepts that address how spatial management and flows of people, attention and physical forces come together at sites. For this, we turn to the concept of territory.

Heritage territories

Put simply, territory is a set of rules and practices applied to a defined unit of space.[7] While this general definition is useful for heritage as it can be used at the scale of the site, it carries unhelpful baggage that needs unpacking. Until the 1990s, territory was used to explain the spatial pattern of nation-states and had the effect of reinforcing a timeless conception of statehood as rooted in a clearly bounded area

over which a state had absolute control. However, even at the level of nation-state, territorial power has been historically contingent and is now broadly recognized as operating in conjunction with global networks (such as migration and trade) in ways that both rely on and challenge territorial state power (see, for instance, Agnew 2005). Even this revised concept of territory as historically contingent and challenged by networks is not adequate for our task as it is still operating at too large a scale and can be critiqued as privileging the agency of global forces, giving them a determining power that strips local agency (Marston 2000). Getting to a workable concept of territory for heritage sites requires further reflection.

Territory is a hindrance if it allows the symbolic power of management regimes to hide what is actually happening across a border. Tim Ingold (2011, 146–9) is scathing of formulations that assign space an abstract uniform character or position it in hierarchies of levels. Ingold views such formulations as a fundamental misrecognition of environments as they turn the complex interactions of movements (the meshwork that constitutes our world) into fully formed and designated places. Hence, Ingold (2011, 148) writes that "human existence is not fundamentally place-*bound* […] but place-*binding*. It unfolds not in places but along paths." Territories then are not formed when they are drawn onto maps, but through the movement and activities of animate beings and their relationship with their environment. A dog marks its territory as it moves about its daily activities. Where a field ends and path begins is not defined by the line between them, but how our movements differ as we move from one to the other. Andrea Brighenti (2010, 57) sums it up well: "Territory is not defined by space, rather it defines spaces through patterns of relations. […] Territories are the effect of the material inscription of social relations." Territories then should be discussed through the movements they encourage and allow.

Political ecology is a field of research that has critically applied the concept of territory to conservation regimes (Neumann 1998; Robbins 2012). Within this literature, authors identify how state institutions prefer to manage "through abstract space, through the establishment and enforcement of strict boundaries of conservation and use." On the other hand, local institutions "are seen as managing through complex spatial arrangements, using overlapping and flexible boundaries of use and tenure" (Roth 2008, 374). However, this is not a simple division because, as demonstrated by Jacoby (2003, 146) and others,[8] the separation of state authorities and local people is impossible to maintain. Jacoby (2003, 146) observes that "each category flowed into the other, complicating any easy moral tale about conservation." Hence, the establishment of conservation zones should be understood "not as a conflict between state space and local space, but as a process of spatial reorganization instigated by insertion of state space into a landscape long managed through non-state institutions" (Roth 2008, 142). Introducing new management regimes, including through reconstructing Majapahit structures, does not overwrite or erase local relationships and practices but instead reorganizes them. This can cause pain and feelings of loss as entanglements alter and sometimes unravel.

An issue that permeates this literature is the assertion that the state prefers and uses "abstract space" (Holmes 2014; Roth 2008). States create abstract space

through heritage in two ways. First, it reproduces images of monuments to use as symbols of state authority (in exhibitions, books, on stamps and so on, as Anderson [1991, 163–85] demonstrates). As symbols, monuments represent the abstract space of the nation, which often means management will prohibit any practices that contradict state authority within the sites themselves. Second, the state uses abstract space in planning documents like the Majapahit Masterplan when it designates zones. However, the application of a conservation regime, as Jacoby demonstrates in great detail, requires large and intensive movements of resources and people from the time of its inception until its dissolution that are messy, conflict-ridden and require material flows in order to be realized. For instance, two villages were moved in order to create the park around Borobudur, which itself is maintained through ongoing state and tourist funding. Most flows do not recognize boundaries, but are only countered by other flows, such as state-funded heritage management, or local practices, or, as is generally the case, a mishmash of arrangements.

In environments, there is no abstract space. However, there is the territorial application of flows through different regimes of spatial management that often seek to contain multiplicity and complexity and require different levels of resourcing. In the next section, we compare different types of territories by grouping their organization of resources and flows, such as the difference between sites with greater community control, and sites subject to greater state control and investment during and after a reconstruction process. However, the heritage sites in Trowulan we turn to now also demonstrate that we cannot assume to know what the flows are automatically as the configuration of flows at sites constantly changes and surprises.

Trowulan

Trowulan is the largest heritage region (*kawasan cagar budaya*) in Indonesia and is a popular destination for Indonesians who are interested in Indonesia's past. Like most Indonesian heritage regions, there have been large investments in restoring monuments to imagined original states. Following the success of the reconstruction of Borobudur, the Indonesian government increased its investment in reconstructing Majapahit sites in Trowulan in the mid-1980s. A large team, which included the foremost archaeologists of the period, including Soejono and Soekmono, the Director-General of Culture Haryati Soebadio, as well as Trowulan residents who worked at the East Java Conservation Bureau, published the extensive *Majapahit Masterplan* (*Archaeological Masterplan of the City Remnants of the Trowulan Majapahit Kingdom*)[9] (Proyek Pemugaran dan Pemeliharaan Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala 1986) mentioned in Chapter 5. An impressive document of over 300 pages, the *Majapahit Masterplan* demonstrates both an extensive understanding of the land use and engineering of the archaeological sites and lays out the nationalist vision of a reconstructed Majapahit. By 1995, 6 of the planned 16 sites had been reconstructed at a cost of Rp.2.2 billion (Rochmani 1995)[10] and 8 of the 16 were eventually completed. The reconstruction effort survived the financial crisis and the fall of Suharto but slowed after the decentralization process through Regional Autonomy discussed in Chapter 5 was instituted in 2002.

In addition to these reconstructions, other shrines received private funding, much of it from military generals when they moved into positions of ascendency in the first part of Suharto's presidency. These activities are an extension of the desire of elites over many centuries to make pilgrimages and connections to the Majapahit regime (see Chapter 5 and Carey 2014). While we do not trace the history of these shrines (which would be an excellent topic for further research), they form part of a network of patronage, both to sites and between individuals, that can be particularly important for the smaller shrines. Where these sites were reconstructed, interpretations tended to be more inventive and less tied to Indonesian archaeological conventions than official reconstruction activities managed by the East Java Conservation Bureau. In the case of *Pendopo Agung*, a large Javanese-inspired pavilion was built near prominent archaeological sites to honor Gajah Mada and make connections between his conquests and success and the Indonesian military. As an easy-to-access, sheltered, semi-public space that is appropriate for families, it was quite popular with residents during the 1990s. The shrines in Trowulan do not divide into easy categories but constitute a plethora of different sites where (re)constructions of varying degrees, funded by a range of bodies, have occurred over many years.

A job that runs across and further complicates the division between the reconstructed and locally managed sites is the *Juru Kunci*, or keeper of the key. The term derives from the Javanese *Juru Kuncen*, where certain staff were tasked with the role of protecting particular sites, communicating their history and facilitating related rituals. They are particularly important at sites of Islamic pilgrimage including tomb visitation (*ziarah*). James Fox (2002, 172) identifies that Juru Kunci "keep these traditions alive and relevant to contemporary Javanese." There are many people who perform the role of the Juru Kunci on Java, and they have been appointed and paid through a variety of different methods and institutions. In 2016, the East Java Office of Culture and Tourism paid 420 Juru Kunci, who are state employees, at various fractions and levels.[11] The Juru Kunci employed through the state system are now known as *Juru Pelihara* (caretakers) and have a set of centrally defined tasks and roles. The Dutch East Indies government similarly paid a small stipend to Juru Kunci at certain sites. Generally, the Juru Pelihara live next to or quite near their site and often the position is retained within the same family. This raises the question of whether the change in title includes a change in the role of the caretakers, which we address in our discussion of reconstructed sites. Other Juru Kunci are appointed by local institutions, including villages. A village that oversaw one small shrine in Trowulan elected a new Juru Kunci for life just before we undertook fieldwork in 2017, leading to a local controversy when the winner overspent the agreed-on amount for campaigning.[12] The diversity of caretaker roles parallels the diversity of heritage sites. The following sections trace how the change from greater resident-regulation to greater state-regulation altered the meshwork of heritage sites, and how residents' (and in particular caretakers') livelihoods and practices are entwined in different ways with the flows that shape and maintain Majapahit sites.

Resident-regulated shrines

Each of our visits to the smaller shrines in Trowulan unfolded in a similar way. We would drive and park as close as we could without bogging Adrian's red Chevrolet Spark, then walk out to the shrine. Five minutes later, a Juru Pelihara would appear to find out who we were and assist us. The shrines were in the middle of compact sites. A small courtyard surrounded an inner shrine that often had a larger fence around it or structure built over it to give it more protection. The greater the investment in a shrine, generally from outside patrons, the larger and more complex its buildings and structures. There were no grassed areas, but there were large trees that provided shade, and there was often a shaded place for guests to rest and chat before and after they visited the inner shrine. The sites were all clean and well maintained by the Juru Pelihara, who in most of the cases we discuss was a part-time employee of the East Java Conservation Bureau. As such, their duties were defined centrally, but in practice as local residents they were subject to the demands of other residents and visitors. They were on call at all hours and were most closely monitored by their communities.

Candi Watesumpak (Figure 6.1) is an example of a relatively undeveloped shrine in Trowulan. In part, this is due to the history of its recent discovery. In 2008, traditional brick manufacturers located graves, which were reported to the Conservation Bureau. After many reports (according to our local source), the site was officially recognized by the then Minister for Culture and Tourism Jero Wacik in 2010. This

Figure 6.1 Candi Watesumpak, Trowulan, East Java. This view captures all the elements of the site with the inner courtyard containing graves at the top of the hill. Photograph by Tod Jones.

Figure 6.2 The inner courtyard of Candi Watesumpak, Trowulan, East Java. The offerings on the gravesites are from the previous night (*malam Jumat Legi*) which was an auspicious night for visiting ancestors that occurs every 35 days in the Javanese calendar. Photograph by Tod Jones.

was at the time of a controversy over the location of a new information center (discussed in Chapter 5) that was drawing much attention to state regulation of Majapahit heritage. The site has an inner concrete courtyard (Figure 6.2) that contains six graves. Relatively young trees are growing around the site, and the Conservation Bureau built an entry post, which was empty except for a chair when we visited in 2016. The site is now elevated due to the arrangements of bricks around the graves and the activities of traditional brick makers who have excavated soil around the site. The bricks are Majapahit bricks that were excavated from around the shrine.

Graves are a recurring feature of the locally regulated sites. Figure 6.2 of the graves at Candi Watesumpak also shows the offerings from *malam Jumat Legi*, the night before the coincidence of Thursday evening in the seven-day cycle and Legi in the five-day cycle in the Javanese calendar. This is an auspicious evening for visiting ancestors and spirits and seeking intercession. There had been five visitors from outside the village the previous night plus a number of local visitors, which from the small numbers indicates that this is a local shrine. Belief in the power of ancestors and other spirits and their capacity to influence the physical world, in particular through sickness or assistance, are important to site maintenance, discouraging unauthorized excavations. Once the graves were located, farmers refused to farm the site area for fear that they would disturb the Majapahit ancestors who would cause sickness and death and residents sought the attention of the East Java Conservation Bureau. These beliefs are important for the engagement of local

Figure 6.3 Candi Watu Ombo, Trowulan. Rice is drying in the car parking area. Photograph by Tod Jones.

communities who have a strong and logical desire that the ancestors are happy and engaged in reciprocal relationships with them regarding their health and prosperity. Most visits are in the evening.

Our local informants noted the frequency of graves at sites, not just in Trowulan but across East Java, and that the most popular sites have graves. Graves at sites are often acknowledged as potentially false, but pilgrims still visit the site, potentially because of the presence of other spiritual beings. Graves are the most common way of connecting Majapahit sites with popular Islam in Java, but there are other sacred objects that are venerated. The large trees at these sites do not just provide shelter for the living. Henri Chambert-Loir (2002, 136) observes that "The place is usually marked by the presence of big trees (often banyan), which are themselves sacred as they are the domain of the spirits." Trunks of the sacred trees at the sites in Trowulan were covered in chequered cloth at many of the sites, similar to the use of chequered cloth (*saput poleng*) in Balinese temples. Other sites, such as Candi Watu Ombo (Figures 6.3 and 6.4), are visited because of their connections to Majapahit and do not contain graves but are still popular destinations for Javanese Muslims seeking assistance from powerful spirits. Most of the locally regulated Majapahit sites therefore share characteristics with Javanese Islamic pilgrimage sites.

The physical characteristics of these sites and the rhythms of their use are shaped through their relationship to the Javanese. The patterns of their use correspond to special days and times in the Javanese calendar as well as seasonal activities. For instance, a harvest festival (*ruwat desa*) in May will fill a local shrine for an entire day with activities and performances, often ending with a Wayang shadow puppet

Figure 6.4 A detail of the shrine in Watu Ombo with an offering from malam Jumat Legi. Photograph by Tod Jones.

performance late into the night. Sites shift in form and flow when they become very popular. Troloyo's Tomb (*Makam Troloyo*) is so popular on malam Jumat Legi that the road running next to it is closed and becomes the location of a street festival with numerous stalls and visitors numbering well over a thousand from across East Java (see Figure 6.5). Pilgrims visit from the afternoon all through the evening until two in the morning, then start again early the next day. Troloyo's Tomb was made popular through the visits of ex-Indonesian President and Nahdlatul Ulama leader Gus Dur, whose pilgrimages stimulated visits to heritage sites across Indonesia. The local village and regional tourism office manage the visitors and locals benefit from parking, transportation and operating stalls. We visited a different grave with a group of local men on malam Jumat legi in 2016 where they prayed, then

Figure 6.5 The street festival outside Troloyo's Tomb (*Makam Troloyo*), a very popular destination for adherents of popular religion in Trowulan. Photograph by Tod Jones.

ate together at midnight. Women and children went earlier in the day where they ate a traditional food. Furthermore, as can be seen in Figure 6.3, at other times of the day, these sites are used for other activities like drying rice, and are also used by local guides as a tourist site that they can interpret out of the way of the official guides who tend to stick to the Majapahit Museum and larger sites.

The territorial regulation of these sites is tied to East Javanese practices of popular religion and the perceptions and rhythms of life of nearby communities. While the presence of Conservation Bureau signs and entry posts is a reminder of their stake in the sites, residents and ancestors play the predominant roles in sites' spatial management. They have multiple and overlapping uses, depending on the time of day and season, and their caretakers are residents, generally for generations. Emotion and affect are important to this regulation. Caretakers are strongly connected to their site, and people who visit expect a site conducive to spiritual communication and guidance. Maintaining territories requires constant upkeep, which is undertaken in concert with the shifting uses of the sites. Cleaning occurs before important days for visits in the Javanese calendar, and visitors respond to the care with donations and return visits. The configuration of heritage at the sites reflects reciprocity with ancestral spirits and the style of visit they desire through the recognition of sacred objects, the veneration of graves and the presence of offerings. The sacredness of the site can be contrasted with the activities immediately around the site, where traditional brick manufacturing removes Majapahit era artifacts and stones, lowering the surrounding ground level. Powerful ancestors demand clean sites and certainly complicate state-led heritage reconstruction projects.

Reconstructing Majapahit heritage

Long-term Trowulan resident Nuryadi paused for a second in our interview sitting on the porch of his home in the village of Bejijong in Trowulan. We were discussing his extensive work as a Technical Expert for the East Java Conservation Bureau where he had overseen aspects of the reconstruction of eight Majapahit monuments. Nuryadi continued: "Moving people is far easier than moving graves." This statement by an important figure in the transformation of shrines into monuments indicates that the process of reconstruction itself was forced to address the relationships that existed at different sites and the importance of popular religion in the reconstruction process. Majapahit sites were entangled in the lives of residents in many ways that required different approaches to reconstruction.

Bajang Ratu Arch (*Gapora Bajang Ratu*) is an example of a shrine that was entangled with the lives of residents through popular religious practices. Bajang Ratu is a stone construction thought to be the entry to a palace compound. The arch is the only structure remaining at the site, although the foundations of the compound that once surrounded the palace can be seen in the ground. Nuryadi's reflections were prompted by his memories of working on Bajang Ratu. Bajang Ratu was located right next to Temon Village and, as can be seen in Figure 6.6, had a large cemetery on its northern side. Visitation to Bajang Ratu would have been intimately connected with the cemetery, which would have buffered the shrine from traditional brick manufacturing that occurred in the surrounding areas (see Figure 6.7). Bajang Ratu was reconstructed between 1985 and 1993 over six years at a cost of Rp. 197 million (Rochmani 1995). Nuryadi mentioned that three homes were relocated, which was a fairly straightforward transaction in comparison to relocating approximately 50 graves. This required negotiations with relatives as well as ceremonies to ensure that ancestor spirits would allow the move without causing harm to residents and the reconstruction team.

The *Majapahit Masterplan* did not discuss these transactions in great detail. It focuses on the effects of physical and ecological forces and the transformation of the shrine as object. The *Majapahit Masterplan* documents the slow destruction of Bajang Ratu, which included collapsing stonework and the effects of algae, lichen and small plants. It considers water flows and structural stability. It also considers the reconfiguration of the surrounding environment to garden, entry station, security station, toilet and kiosk. The reconstructed Bajang Ratu (shown in Figure 6.8) was justified in archaeological terms, so there is an archaeological survey and a consideration of the new materials added to the structure. The plan is detailed, including the meterage of new and old stone and the process of removing, cleaning and rebuilding the shrine as well as the scheduling and funding mechanisms for the work and representations of its finished state.

Despite its larger size and greater state of disrepair, Candi Brahu was a much easier reconstruction albeit more expensive process for the Directorate of Culture. Made of stone and standing 20 meters tall, Candi Brahu is an imposing Buddhist temple that is now surrounded by a well-cared-for European-style garden. Built at the end of the tenth century, it is located outside of the Village of Bejijong in Trowulan and was surrounded by trees and tobacco fields before its reconstruction

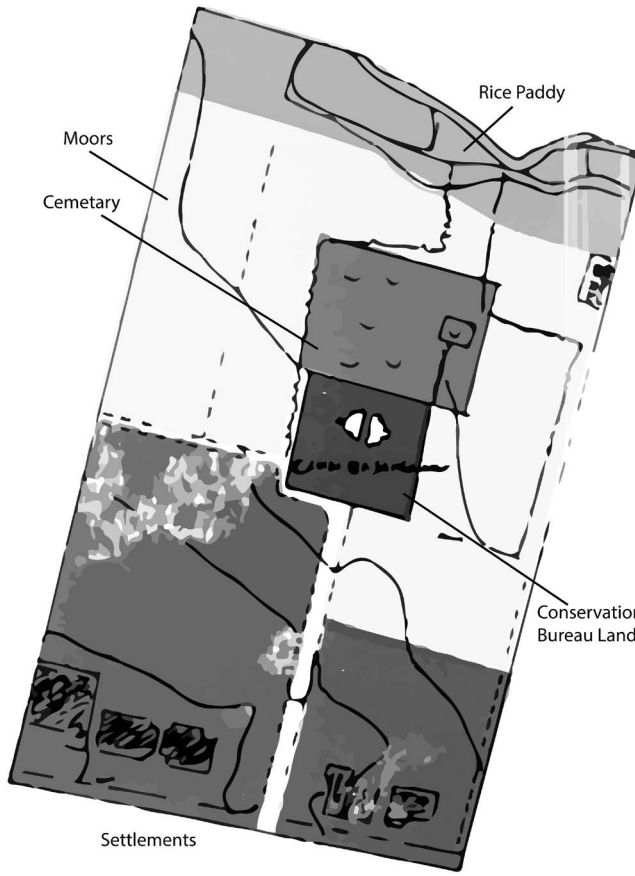

Figure 6.6 Map of land uses around Bajang Ratu before the reconstruction. This map is derived from an original map in the Majapahit Masterplan (Proyek Pemugaran dan Pemeliharaan Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala 1986, 102).

(see Figure 6.9). A local resident remembered Candi Brahu as a place for children to play and climb.[13] The absence of graves and its Buddhist credentials prevented Javanese Muslim residents from developing the same relations as were present at Bajang Ratu. The reconstruction cost the most of any reconstruction (Rp. 650 million) and took five years between 1990 and 1995. The reconstruction did not relocate any houses or graves (shown in Figure 6.10). Apart from children climbing the temple and playing around it, the only activity our informant remembered being displaced was tobacco farming.

Unraveling the entanglements of residents required different investments of time and resources depending on the history of the sites. The imposition of new territories does not come cheap. The reconstruction sought to make connections between the nation-state and Indonesian citizens through the creation of impressive

Figure 6.7 Bajang Ratu before its reconstruction. Photograph taken from the Majapahit Masterplan (Proyek Pemugaran dan Pemeliharaan Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala 1986, 100).

Figure 6.8 Bajang Ratu as it looks today. Photograph by Tod Jones.

Figure 6.9 Candi Brahu before its reconstruction. Photograph taken from the Majapahit Masterplan (Proyek Pemugaran dan Pemeliharaan Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala 1986, 157).

Figure 6.10 Candi Brahu as it looks today. Photograph by Tod Jones.

historical structures designed to encourage visitation. While reconstruction succeeded in doing this, its process also opened up opportunities for new engagements with the sites and Majapahit heritage. Residents like Nuryadi, whose grandfather Sabar is the focus of Chapter 5, were trained at Prambanan and became experts in technical reconstruction with extensive knowledge of the shrines. Marsaid, the Juru Pelihara at Candi Brahu and resident of Bejijong Village, first started working at the East Java Conservation Bureau during the reconstruction as a laborer before being appointed to permanently care for the shrine. Furthermore, the continued investment in the maintenance of heritage territories to combat the physical and ecological forces that continuously cross and dissolve territorial boundaries enables new relationships to develop.

Reconstructed sites

The reconstructed sites correspond most closely to the notions of monumental sites (Smith 2006) and fortress conservation (Meskell 2012). These sites, like Bajang Ratu (Figure 6.8) and Candi Brahu (Figure 6.10), are open to the public during the

Figure 6.11 The garden and side attraction at the Buddhist vihara in Trowulan. The vihara has a well-maintained garden with other attractions and many places to sit in addition to its main attraction, the large lying Buddha statue. Photograph by Tod Jones.

day and closed at night. The larger sites employ a number of people to maintain the garden, collect information and interact with visitors. The sites are surrounded by Western-style gardens with grass and often intricate hedges, but few tall trees, little shade and no seating for visitors. This reduces their usefulness for locals, who on their day off on Sundays prefer the Buddhist vihara (see Figure 6.11), the location of the large, new sleeping Buddha statue that is surrounded by a garden, reproductions of other Buddhist sites (like Borobudur), and has many shaded places to sit and relax. The reconstructed sites have large numbers of staff, mostly attract visitors on day trips, generally from Surabaya, most of whom stay at the sites for short periods before journeying to the next site. A critique of a senior staff member of the Conservation Bureau was that "There are no visitor facilities [at the archaeological sites in Trowulan] because it has the features of conservation, not of utilisation."[14]

The postcolonial nationalist imagining of a monumental and impressive past is most obvious in the reconstructed sites. However, as is usually the case, the situation is more complex as the reconstructed sites also exist in local environments that give them their shape and form. Marsaid has connections to Candi Brahu that go beyond growing up nearby and working on the reconstruction. A closer look at Figure 6.10 reveals a series of plants trimmed to look like stupas along the path leading to and around the shrine. The grounds also include a Majapahit-inspired star-shaped hedge along with immaculately kept lawns and trees. The garden design was conceived and executed by the Juru Pelihara

including Marsaid (the most senior Juru Pelihara), all of them local residents. They are a local imagining of what is appropriate for the grounds of a national monument. Marsaid stated that residents use Candi Brahu far more now than they did before the reconstruction. Unlike most of the reconstructed sites, Candi Brahu has taller trees that provide shade and is a place where residents come for recreation and relaxation.

Furthermore, the characteristics of an effective Juru Pelihara are similar to those of the Juru Kunci. A Trowulan artist who was also a key member of a local group of followers of Javanese spiritualism explained to us the characteristics of an effective Juru Kunci.[15] They must undertake regular maintenance and keep the site clean. They should know the site's history and not make things up. They should always be available for guests, day or evening. Marsaid and his team do these things and have the respect of people who carry out spiritual activities and they make use of Candi Brahu for the Full Moon Ritual (*Ritual Malam Bulan Purnama*). Candi Brahu, as a Buddhist temple that was not a location for graves, was not used previously to any great degree by these groups before the reconstruction. The reconstruction, in combination with Juru Pelihara who are dedicated and astute, creates opportunities for spiritualist activities. In the hour we were interviewing Marsaid, two groups visited Candi Brahu to pray and walk around the site. A more unusual event occurred in April 2017 when the Bupati of Mojokerto (which includes Trowulan) had a dream that told him to take the Majapahit era human remains from another archaeological site in Trowulan and place them at Candi Brahu. While this was criticized by many residents, it increased visitation to Candi Brahu in the months after the relocation ceremony. The effects of reconstruction on popular religious activities require site-by-site consideration because, as was observed by Roth (2008, 142) for the establishment of environmental conservation zones, spatial practices are not eliminated as much as reorganized. In the case of Candi Brahu, use by residents and adherents of Javanese spiritualism increased.

The massive investment in reconstruction does not stop with its completion. Physical forces and lines of life constantly transgress the boundaries of territories threatening to undermine reconstruction's objectives, necessitating large teams to maintain the gardens and the monuments. In the experience of Marsaid, the wet season requires far greater work for the seven full-time employees than the dry season due to the phenomenal growth of plants, grass and lichen. Marsaid and the other caretakers spectacularly clean the Buddhist temple monthly using 12-meter and 5-meter bamboo ladders and safety ropes. Despite the height and basic safety equipment, there has been one minor accident while cleaning since 1995. The grass and gardens require constant care due to the rate of growth of plants on Java's fertile plains. The shifts then from local to state regulation require a large initial and ongoing state investment to shape and maintain the site in its imagined original form. While the local sites are more permeable, more accessed by residents, more in tune with the rhythms of local Javanese life, the Juru Pelihara know the reconstructed sites with a greater intimacy than anyone else and have the capacity to assist the configuration of these sites back into local environments. This intimacy is funded through heritage management.

Stories and movement

Far from being abstract spaces, heritage territories are only effective if they can marshal flows to counter to what Byrne (2014, 113) calls "agents of disintegration" that are constituted by "the weather, robbers, scavengers of building material, encroachers upon temple land" and poor management. These "agents of disintegration" are particularly powerful in tropical East Java, 900 kilometers south of the equator. While there are many overlaps, resident managed and reconstructed sites can be considered two types of heritage territory because they counter these forces in different ways, harnessing different stories and institutional flows. Reconstructed monuments harness the resources and cultural nationalism of the Indonesian nation-state in order to maintain European-style gardens and lawns and to clean and repair reconstructed monuments. They rely on a flow of visitors who are interested in stories about the historical precursors to the nation-state. The huge commitment of resources required to unravel resident and ecological entanglements with sites continues after the end of reconstruction. In contrast, resident-regulated sites are maintained through reciprocity with ancestors and spirits connected to the rhythms of popular Islam and spiritualism in Java.

Analyzing heritage sites as movement in configuration with an environment turns attention to the ongoing everyday flows rather than the grand schemes and large undertakings of public and private institutions. While these investments, including reconstruction, are important, their importance is because of the way they shift perceptions and configurations. There are no clean breaks with past practices. As Henri Chambert-Loir and Anthony Reid (2002a, xxiii) observe in *The Potent Dead*, "Transformations caused by the impact of an external religion or ideology do not result in radical substitutions of practices and beliefs—rather in new formulations and interpretations." This observation is as accurate for sites transformed by heritage management as it is for converted Islamic or Christian sites. Reconstructed sites also exist in configuration with environments and therefore are subject to continued incursions that can either be acquiesced to or require continued resistance. Hence, Candi Brahu, a Buddhist temple that before reconstruction was never the site of Javanese spiritualist activities, has now become (at particular times) a sacred place. The meshwork of a heritage phenomenon generates connections through and across political, historic and management divisions, just as the flows of the world constantly seek to cross and complicate human-drawn boundaries.

While heritage management and research needs to recognize the range of people's perceptions of heritage sites, it should not be neutral in its assessment about how the interventions of different institutions influence these perceptions or decisions about site management. The ethical implications of interventions and encouraging certain perceptions over others should be a focus of analysis and decision-making. We argue strongly that resident regulation of sites should be ongoing and enhanced by investments in heritage management, and that flows of residents' attention and leisure time are essential for maintenance and the creative use of that heritage in resident livelihoods. We also take the position that structures should generally not be considered to be monuments because that conception

poses the greatest danger to existing local relationships and the diverse perceptions that create a rich and active heritage site. A Trowulan artist and regular visitor to shrines addressed this issue[16]:

> The current method [of site regulation] is where old structures are considered as only monuments that are only to astonish. If we are astonished, it means we cannot do anything but be astonished, and not do anything, and only do activities that are in the name of astonishment. We do not deeply consider. We are the astonished, that's all. But if societal enrichment is economic—ok, spiritual—ok, scientific—ok, I think it can come alive.

It is only through attention to resident stories and the flows they support that heritage research can be aware of how heritage and residents animate each other, inspiring new opportunities and practices and allowing ongoing care for sites. These relationships should be a central focus of heritage management and research.

Notes

1 Such as the colonial-era *Gedung Merdeka* (Freedom Building) in Bandung where the Asian-African Conference central to the formation of the Non-Aligned Movement of countries was held in 1955.
2 While Reuter (2010) was writing before the trial of the ex-Governor of Jakarta Basuki 'Ahok' Purnama for blasphemy against Islam, the surprising success of the court case and Ahok's jailing supported his contention regarding the exceptional sensitivity granted to Islamic values and concerns.
3 It is worth noting the shifting terminology as it relates to changing practices of popular religion. Javanese spiritualism was once widely known as *kebatinan* and referred to Javanese spiritual beliefs and cults that were based on beliefs that preceded Islam and could be Hindu or animist in origins. Belief in Javanese spiritual forces existed alongside the practice of the five pillars of Islamic ritual. Today followers of Javanese spirituality are more likely to call themselves *kejawen*, or Javanists, most likely because it is easier to claim they have a single belief system (Ricklefs 2012, 269). I use the contemporary term, *kejawen*, as it was most often used by the people I interviewed.
4 All statistics are taken from the 2010 Indonesian census run by *Badan Statistik Indonesia* (BPS). See http://sp2010.bps.go.id/index.php/site/tabel?tid=321&wid=0 (accessed 28 June 2017). This is the most recent census statistics available at the time of writing. Census are run approximately every ten years in Indonesia.
5 In the same census, 47.8 million Indonesians identified as Javanese, which did not include Sundanese (18.6 million), Betawi (3.4), Madura (3.5), the Indigenous Tribes of Banten (2.3), and Cirebon (0.9). Discussions of Javanese spiritualism tend to include these other groups as they identify as Islamic and have an intertwined history with and similar trajectory in their beliefs to the Javanese. The complexity of indigenous ethnicity in Java is often glossed over by commentators (including us). We use the term Javanese for the residents of Trowulan as the vast majority of its population is East Javanese.
6 See Chambert-Loir (2002) for an account of the many different types of sites of veneration on Java.
7 This is my plain-language version of a more academic definition: "A unit of contiguous space that is used, organized and managed by a social group, individual person or institution to restrict and control access to people and places" (Gregory et al. 2009, 746).

8 Herzfeld (1991, 2005), with his ethnographic focus, is particularly good at describing the complexities of relations between people of different backgrounds, jobs and classes. These complexities make drawing clear distinctions between "experts" and "communities" difficult.
9 Rencana Induk Arkeologi Bekas Kota Kerajaan Majapahit Trowulan.
10 This is equal to approximately $US1 million in 1996 conversion rates ($1US: 2342Rp) before the Asian financial crisis led to the devaluation of the Rupiah in 1997.
11 Interview 4M. The list of interviews, including details of the interviewee and when it was undertaken, is in Appendix.
12 Interview 5E.
13 Interview 5A.
14 Interview 4B.
15 Interview 5E.
16 Interview 4E.

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7 Settler colonial cultural landscapes

Badimia experiences of advocating for their sovereignty, community and Country

Tod Jones and Carol Dowling

In 2020, Badimia community leaders returned to Charles Darwin Nature Reserve on the northern edge of Western Australia's wheat belt to revisit and clean up Flat Tyre Rockhole. Funded by a Western Australian Aboriginal Heritage Protection grant, these Traditional Owners intended to clean out the rock hole and put in place a maintenance plan and signage. Badimia Elder Gloria Fogarty explained that this was a result of the expansion of pastoral stations decades before: "When the stations closed down, instead of putting mesh over it to stop animals falling in, what those station owners did in the early 40s, late 50s, was cover them all with rocks, filled them with rocks." Known as gnamma holes by Badimia people, Flat Tyre Rockhole was an important campsite where Badimia camped for thousands of years as they traversed their Country. This visit was an opportunity to connect with Badimia ancestors travels across Country, finding water and moving around with the seasons and to themselves practice aspects of traditional knowledge associated with water holes, springs and soaks. This was the first time that Badimia people had accessed Flat Tyre Rockhole for decades following their displacement by the expansion of pastoral stations and colonial government.

The difference in land management between First Nations people and settler colonists was and remains immense. Australian environments are shaped by traditional owners (Gammage 2011). Badimia people are family with plants and animals, and this is explained through totemic systems (moieties, skin groups) that describe and maintain ecosystems, family and interfamily relationships and relationships with other territories. Understood now through the concept of biocultural diversity, Badimia people's complete immersion in their Barna (Country) is a cause, extension and expression of the ecologies of their territory (see Figure 7.1 for the location of Badimia Barna). The Badimia cultural landscape is enacted through community sharing of knowledge through activities like the work at Flat Tyre Rockhole.

In contrast, settler colonial cultural landscapes are the product of the displacement of Traditional Owners through state-mandated land clearing to support settler colonial survival and expansion. Colonists would lose their land if they failed to clear it. Pastoral leases, like the stations that became Charles Darwin Nature Reserve, have state-prescribed agricultural land uses. The health of Western

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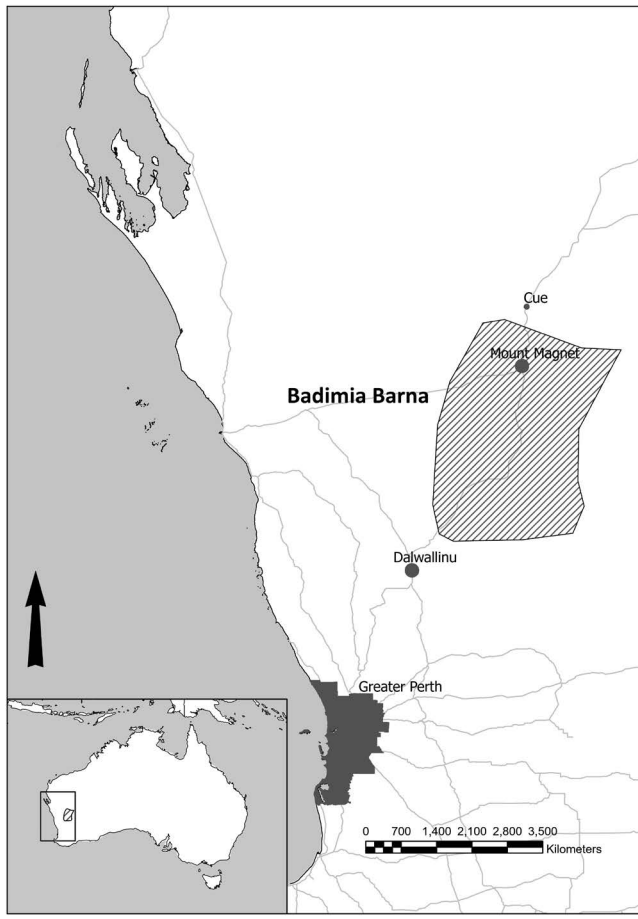

Figure 7.1 Map of Badimia Barna (Country). Map by Tod Jones.

Australia's ecologies was only considered after the state had been largely settled, and even then, the main purposes were either recreation, forestry reserves or, from the 1970s, the protection of nature through environmental remediation and the exclusion or control of visitors (Rundle 1996). Community involvement in decision-making about the conservation reserve started in a limited way in the 1980s and Aboriginal people became involved in the management of a small number of high-profile parks, such as Karajini and Purnululu from 1987. Charles Darwin Nature Reserve is privately owned and run. It was established in 2003 by a conservation NGO, Bush Heritage Australia, using, along with other sources, a donation from Charles Darwin's great-great-grandson.

The work of clearing out the gnamma hole was hot and hard. As the Badimia elders and family removed rocks and rubble, they came across a large bone that they immediately identified as the thigh bone of a large kangaroo. The non-Aboriginal

manager running the Reserve at the time shouted "Stop everything! That is a human bone." Despite the knowledge of the Badimia Elders there, the work stopped for a week while the bone was taken to an Anglo-European specialist who confirmed it was a kangaroo's thigh bone. While Carol and Gloria can laugh and joke about this now, this was a frustrating episode in site protection. It demonstrates how Badimia expertise should be the basis of Badimia employment and land management but was once again second to Western science in decision-making. It reminded Badimia people that their community, living down the road, are the only people who can recover a sustainable and equitable cultural landscape for Badimia Country, yet suffer the indignity of being sidelined and ignored.

Land reform and heritage management literally has the future of Aboriginal communities at stake. Legal recognition, starting with the Mabo II decision in 1992 that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples (Australia's First Nations) held ongoing native title to their lands, raised expectations of change but largely failed in its first two decades to deliver social justice to these communities or protect their precious places (Behrendt and Watson 2007; Cox and Jones 2018). Negotiations over land use and ownership are entangled with addressing intergenerational disadvantage caused by ongoing colonial oppression. These are high-stakes activities with the livelihoods of communities of people, other species and the spirits of Country and Ancestors on the line. They also drive shifts in the management of land that allow for traditional ecological knowledge embedded in Aboriginal communities, which is the bedrock of First Nations land management in Australia, to increasingly influence landscape management practices in particular on conservation lands.

The processes through which Badimia leaders can undertake work for their Country and community bear the hopes and expectations of the communities involved. While settler colonial ontologies, politics and histories continue to influence negotiations and decisions, Badimia assertions of sovereignty and rights disturb and push back on these processes. The capacities of the collaborating institutions to respond to Badimia priorities and requirements shape the pace of, and possibilities for, achieving bioculturally diverse futures. The effects of generations of disenfranchisement on the Badimia community also influence decision-making within community organizations. This chapter examines the historical and structural shifts that led to this situation and the possibilities and limitations emerging for sovereignty, decolonization and co-existence through Badimia (Yamatji) academic, community organizer and activist Carol Dowling's experiences explaining and enacting Badimia land management in a settler colonial regime. It is also the story of how cross-ontological discussions and the ethics of human-environment relations have become essential issues in the future of Western Australia's cultural landscapes.

We define ontology as a philosophy of being or living and the universe, making it similar to worldview in popular language. Ontological differences underlie differences in approaches and values. This allows us to talk about differences between Badimia ontology and Western scientific ontology that is often the basis of land or conservation management.

The next section uses the concept of settler colonial cultural landscapes as a framework for understanding the ontological, political and practical issues Badimia

face when advocating for their community, perspectives and land. The rest of this chapter relates Carol's experiences as a Badimia Traditional Owner engaging in Badimia and government processes to start healing and caring for Badimia Country through the creation and activities of Badimia Bandi Barna Aboriginal Corporation. The third section discusses the start of Badimia Bandi Barna and their activities and vision for a Badimia landscape that nurtures their Country and community. The fourth section looks at the opportunity for joint conservation management of part of Badimia land and what this reveals about Badimia land management and their vision for Barna and community. The final section reflects on what Carol's experiences reveal about the characteristics of a settler colonial cultural landscape and what stands in the way of First Nations actions to care for their precious places.

Settler colonial cultural landscapes

Cultural landscapes directly challenge representations and categorizations that erase Indigenous practices and sovereignties and represent the landscape as nature without a people (Head 2010). Its usefulness for Badimia and other First Nations people is not just in its acknowledgment of their agency in shaping a land through their management practices. First, the history and evolution of cultural landscapes as a concept and field demonstrates the historical and contemporary barriers facing Badimia organizations when they seek to exercise Badimia sovereignty and futurity. Second, contemporary cultural landscape approaches offer the possibility of addressing Indigenous sovereignty, land use and environmental and political change holistically through critical evaluation of settler colonial concepts and approaches.

Cultural landscape is not a single type of landscape or singular approach to landscapes. A strength of cultural landscapes is the diverse perspectives that they hold together due to the critical attention of contributors over time and its use in a variety of fields, from art and travel writing to planning and heritage management.[1] Here we understand cultural landscapes as a field of activities that encompass two things: engagement with humans, other species, forces (including physical, socio-economic and spiritual) and technologies to understand and intervene in landscape-shaping processes; and the critical work of challenging assumptions about the categories and structures used in these interventions or representations (in particular divisions between nature and culture and nature and human) to seek more holistic and ethical ways of thinking about these issues. This includes considering affect and feeling as central to the ways that humans and non-humans experience and respond to landscapes (Waterton 2019). This breadth is essential for bridging landscape practices that are separated in Western ontologies.

Early English language definitions of landscape emphasized the physical and cultural forces that shape land: "an area made up of a distinct association of forms, both physical and cultural" (Sauer 1963, 321) that had little consideration of First Nations practices. Drawing from critical approaches to representation, this shifted in the 1980s to critically analyze landscape as a way of structuring and seeing the world that provides an illusion of order and control (Cosgrove 1985). These approaches interrogated the mechanisms and language of settler colonial landscape

management, such as Nicholas Blomley's (2003) analysis of the frontier, the survey and the grid in the settler colonial expansion of the United States. Mainly by Anglo-European authors, there were few collaborations with First Nations authors. The current iteration of cultural landscapes has a greater intersection with the concerns of First Nations activists. Drawing on critics of humanism and the separation of culture and humans from nature in the sciences (most notably Bruno Latour (2004)), cultural landscapes research drew from phenomenology and posthumanist approaches to challenge ontologies that drew sharp separations between humans and other species (Head 2016; Plumwood 2006).

Settler colonial contexts have been important for this scholarship due to the social, ethical, environmental and philosophical effects of prioritizing the wealth and welfare of settler colonial elite over First Nations people, other migrants and local ecologies (Rose et al. 2012; Veracini 2011; Wolfe 2006). The interrogation of both culture and nature was due to opened avenues for collaborations between Traditional Owners, whose perspective of their environment does not separate nature from humans and culture and non-Indigenous researchers (Bird Rose 2004; Head 2000). First Nations ontologies challenge the linearity of time and language (through, for example, the ongoing time of the Dreaming), the relationships that shape landscapes in the concept of scale and the boundaries of community, and who has agency and identity (that extends to plants, animals, objects and other forces). These differences led to limited European management practices being presented as universal and beneficial for all, and First Nations practices and priorities were rarely given precedence in land management (Bird Rose 1999; Howitt, Doohan, Suchet-Pearson, Lunkapis, et al. 2013; Jackson and Barber 2013). European environmental management entrenched divisions like nature-culture and concepts like wildlife as universal and in doing so positioned First Nations perspectives and people as flawed and requiring "management" (Howitt and Suchet-Pearson 2006b). This body of research called for a revision of cultural landscape concepts due to their incapacity to address First Nations' practices and perspectives or in other words engage with plural ontologies (Howitt, Doohan, Suchet-Pearson, Cross, et al. 2013).

This raises the key question as to whether cultural landscape is the right concept and term for First Nations' lands. The term cultural landscape already encapsulates rather than synthesizes the tension between "culture" and "landscape" and commentators have indicated their discomfort and uncertainty with its use despite how it opens conversations and addresses injustices (Head 2010). Indigenous scholars much prefer the concept of Country to landscape (Graham 2013; RiverOfLife, Taylor and Poelina 2021; Wooltorton et al. 2020). Country can be understood as "the system of interdependent responsibilities by which the continuity of life in the country and the region is ensured" (Bird Rose 2004, 178). Country is known through Indigenous knowledges that are owned and maintained by First Nations peoples within a relational, place-based ontology that is grounded in their interspecies community and culture. The scale that First Nations landscapes require is based on community empowerment, self-determination and decolonization and often couples with the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (UNDRIP) (Janke 2021; Kuokkanen 2007; Smith 1999).

This scale empowers First Nations people to strongly advocate for Indigenous community-led methods that are culturally safe and able to follow community priorities and practices.

First Nations researchers and writers are making use of cultural landscape concepts and language in their advocacy for their ancestral countries. In an article reframing water governance by basing it on Nyikina First Law and co-authored with the ancestral Martuwarra RiverOfLife, the authors write "Living Waters are a connected system in a cultural landscape" to justify rejecting the "false dichotomies of material/spiritual aspects of water" (RiverOfLife, Taylor and Poelina 2021, 44). Posthumanist critiques of nature-human separations (Wooltorton, Collard and Horwitz 2019) and the opening up of agency to other beings and species are points of connection where First Nations researchers are engaging with and challenging academic concepts to engage with difficult ontological conversations and advocate for their holistic approach to their lands (RiverOfLife et al. 2021; Wooltorton et al. 2020). Similarly, cultural landscapes are becoming an important concept in land and heritage management. The Victorian Traditional Owners organization states cultural landscapes are the "planning units of choice for Traditional Owners" because they are holistic and "reflect the management and modification of Country over many thousands of generations […] and include Traditional Owner societies' unique worldview, sense of being, history, institutions, practices and networks of relationships" (Victorian Traditional Owners 2021, 7). Cultural landscapes are now a field where dialogue about settler colonial tensions and issues over sensitive questions of community empowerment, development pathways and complex inheritances is possible and is increasingly taking place. This is why cultural landscapes are progressively more important to First Nations, non-Indigenous institutions involved in land and heritage management and a variety of disciplines in settler colonial societies.

Building infrastructure for cultural landscape flows: Badimia Bandi Barna Aboriginal Corporation

Badimia Bandi Barna Aboriginal Corporation (henceforth Badimia Bandi Barna) was a proactive response to a devastating situation. In 2015, the national native title claim that Badimia had lodged in 1996 was unsuccessful when the Federal Court judge determined, wrongly in our opinion, that Badimia people did not meet the white legal definition of unbroken cultural connection. While Badimia people's cultural knowledge and connections to the species in Barna were not presented in the appeal, a second structural issue was the requirement to meet what Anthropologist Patrick Wolfe (1999) calls repressive authenticity. The requirement to present unchanged cultural connections in a context where society and the state apparatus actively sought to break those connections for 200 years before native title was recognized and in the face of unprecedented societal change is a repressive condition. A small group of Badimia leaders responded through requesting their land council, Yamatji Marlpa Aboriginal Corporation (YMAC), to set up a new Aboriginal Corporation for Badimia people to pursue their vision for Barna and community.

Table 7.1 Key objectives of Badimia Bandi Barna Aboriginal Corporation

- To represent the Badimia People as custodians of Badimia traditional land;
- To promote and protect Badimia lore, language, land and culture;
- To enter into agreements on behalf of Badimia People;
- To assist in the relief of poverty, sickness, destitution, helplessness, distress, suffering and misfortune among Badimia People, through the process of supporting social and economic development;
- To operate community enterprises and build a strong financial base for community development activities and infrastructure;
- To promote community development by acting as a resource for the community and stakeholders in the areas of education, health, housing, employment and welfare.

Badimia Bandi Barna was registered in February 2018. The objectives of the corporation demonstrate the close connections between community development, culture and land management from the perspectives of Badimia people (see Table 7.1). Carol was the Chairperson of Badimia Bandi Barna and worked with the rest of the Board, Gloria Fogarty, Darryl Fogarty, Beverley Slater, Ashley Bell, Olivia Slater and Catherine Bynder, to establish clear objectives and strong governance structures. Carol and the Board also recognized the importance of demonstrating their capacity to win and manage grants that achieved their goals. Badimia members of the corporation, who were based in South Australia, volunteered to assist the board to quickly apply for three heritage protection grants that led to the reopening of Flat Tyre Rockhole in Charles Darwin Nature Reserve and work at three sites in Mount Gibson Wildlife Sanctuary. These grants funded the part-time employment of the two trainee Badimia Rangers, Brandon Farrell (then 22 years) and Marilyn "Diane" Adams (then 55 years). These Badimia Rangers received conservation and land management training while fulfilling the requirements of the two successful heritage grants. Woman Elder, Gloria Fogarty was employed as a Ranger by the Australian Wildlife Conservancy, the owners of Mount Gibson Wildlife Sanctuary. Gloria was able to supervise the heritage work on both sites and recruit help from other board members, Darryl Fogarty and Ashley Bell, and their family members. Initiatives that combine community training and employment to work on Barna with Elders to conserve sacred sites and restore biodiverse ecologies strengthen the Badimia cultural landscape. However, as the experiences of the kangaroo thigh bone demonstrate, Badimia knowledge and authority was still secondary to Western science and site management, and Badimia people did not have a strong voice in management decision-making as important sacred sites were still managed under local conservancies.

Based on their conservation work, Gunduwa Regional Conservation Association offered Badimia Bandi Barna funding for the most important pieces of infrastructure for the Badimia cultural landscape: a Strategic Plan and a Healthy Country Plan for Badimia Country. Gunduwa was created to undertake conservation work to offset the environmental impacts of Mount Gibson and Extension Hill mines. It consists of several state agencies, local governments and NGOs who undertake conservation work in an area around the mine sites that overlaps substantially with

Badimia Country. These kinds of landscape trade-offs between resource exploitation and environmental damage on the one hand and conservation work on the other are common and, since native title, increasingly include First Nations organizations although Badimia are not one of the partners in Gunduwa. Here we focus on the Healthy Country Plan for the way it applies the vision and strategies of the Strategic Plan to a landscape.[2]

Cultural landscapes, like all heritage and conservation, are sets of stories and relationships that explain and establish material flows. Owing to the settler colonial fragmentation of the landscape and marginalization of First Nations people, Badimia Bandi Barna requires collaborative approaches with other organizations who can resource and support their vision for a Badimia cultural landscape but needs to do so on Badimia terms. The *Badimia Barna Healthy Country Plan* (*Badimia Barna HCP*) is very important as it is the clearest articulation of a future for Barna and Badimia people through conservation and protection of Barna while repairing colonial damage and growing younger generations into their birthright.

Healthy Country plans are a key infrastructure for First Nations cultural landscapes because they can form the basis for partnerships with and funding applications to state, NGO and business bodies. They articulate and enable the flows that sustain Barna and Badimia communities. The *Badimia Barna HCP* (2021) is therefore about more than the future of land management; it is a statement about sovereignty and assertion of Badimia authority and futurity on Barna. It articulates a Badimia cultural landscape that stretches across settler colonial land divisions to address Badimia Barna regardless of tenure arrangements or current uses. It was produced by a working group of Badimia Bandi Barna Elders, Board members and general corporation members working together with a facilitator, Paula Deegan, on Thundelarra Station, with support from conservation NGOs, YMAC and the state conservation agency in 2020 and was launched in October 2021.

Badimia ontology, like many First Nations people, views everything as connected and therefore important. The Badimia Barna HCP teaches that "All Badimia culture and Barna is important to us and everything—the land, the people, the water, the plants and animals—is connected through the Bimarra." Bimarra is the rainbow creation serpent who brings rain that renews the land and creates the waterways and lake systems. The Elders therefore could not separate people from Country, as happens in much conservation planning and this is evident in the first two targets (see Table 7.2). Badimia culture refers to management of cultural places and the practice of Badimia culture through sharing knowledge and language. Badimia people refer to the lack of employment opportunities for Badimia people and the need to create culturally appropriate employment that looks after Barna. These two targets are rated as poor (the lowest rating) and need urgent attention.

The remaining targets highlight important places (Bimarra—water places, Lake Moore and hills and breakaways) and the plants and animals. However, discussion of each of these targets always links to Badimia people and Country. Bimarra—water is essential to Badimia, plants and animals, and is explained through cultural significance and as being a connector "even greater than the sum of its parts" (Dowling et al. 2021, 20). The hills and breakaways are discussed in terms of their

Table 7.2 Assessment of the health of Badimia Barna Healthy Country Plan targets

Target	*Health/Viability*
Badimia culture and cultural places	Poor
Badimia people	Poor
Bimarra—water places	Fair
Lake Moore[a]	Fair
Hills and Breakaways[a]	Fair
Plants[a]	Fair
Animals[a]	Fair

a For these Targets, Badimia Bandi Barna think that the rating should be Poor for parts of the Target, but other parts are healthier so that lifts the rating. For example, too many plants and animals are threatened and some are locally extinct, but other species are in good health.

long historical connections as campsites, their importance for Badimia spirituality and ceremony and as biodiversity hotspots. Plants and animals are sources of food and medicine and are valued for their presence. The targets require Badimia people to be involved in research and management that sustains these relationships and ensures that Badimia perspectives direct management.

Threats to Barna (see Table 7.3) weaken the relationships that sustain the Badimia cultural landscape. The most pressing threats are the loss of traditional knowledge and Badimia access to Barna without a native title determination. Native title would have been an important negotiating tool for resources to manage Barna. These threats are to Badimia people's capacity to have a role in the process of managing Barna effectively. Other threats are concerns common to conservation land management. Further threats ranked very high relate to inappropriate commercial and recreational activities on Barna that conflict with Badimia land and heritage management, in particular mining and unregulated visitors and tourism. Climate change and in particular wildfire is a serious threat to semi-arid lands. Feral animals and weeds are of concern across Australia. Many of these threats are beyond the control of Badimia Bandi Barna without collaboration from other organizations.

Table 7.3 Assessment of the health of Badimia Barna Healthy Country Plan threats

Threat	*Ranking*
Loss of traditional knowledge	Very high
No native title (Lack of land tenure)	Very high
Insufficient access to resources	Very high
Damage destruction of cultural heritage	Very high
Mining and mining exploration	Very high
Climate change	Very high
Fire	High
Visitor behavior (including off-road vehicle use)	High
Feral animals (goats, cattle, horses, donkeys, rabbits)	High
Feral animals (dogs, cats and foxes)	High
Water use	Medium
Weeds	Medium

Table 7.4 Badimia Barna Healthy Country Plan strategies

Program 1 Building Badimia capacity to look after culture.	• Develop skills and technology to undertake Cultural Mapping • Develop a Badimia Cultural Database • Support Back on Barna events for elders and young people • Site documentation and registration • Cultural tourism • Strengthen use of Badimia language and place names
Program 2 Building Badimia capacity to look after Barna.	• Build the Badimia Ranger program • Develop a Junior Ranger program
Program 3 Strengthening Badimia access to Barna.	• Joint management of parks and reserves • Purchase and/or lease of land • Developing collaborations and relationships that help us achieve objectives
Program 4 Compatible development by Badimia on Barna.	• Developing Badimia enterprises on Barna that regenerate the land while providing incomes
Program 5 Building Badimia organizational capacity	• Build core capacity to implement this plan • Develop and implement a long-term funding program • Strengthen support through partnerships and relationships

Badimia Barna HCP conserves the Badimia cultural landscape through a holistic approach to Badimia people and Barna (see Table 7.4). It addresses the historic inequities of the past through articulating a future where Badimia people and Barna are caring for each other holistically—ecologically, spiritually, culturally and through mutually supporting livelihoods. This includes what Badimia Barna HCP calls "compatible development," which is ecologically regenerative development that prioritizes culturally appropriate land management as the basis for training and employment of Badimia people. Importantly, the Badimia Barna HCP sets 5-, 10- and 25-year targets that can be monitored and adjusted. The strategies in the Badimia Barna HCP aim to strengthen and extend a social structure that explicitly and consciously includes other species, Barna and creation beings.

Joint management of Badimia Country

Just as the *Badimia Barna HCP* was completed, Parks and Wildlife Services approached Badimia Bandi Barna to enter into negotiations about the joint management of a new national park and four new conservation reserves on Barna. The strong governance, inclusive membership and landscape focus of Badimia Bandi Barna made them an attractive candidate for partnership with Parks and Wildlife Services, which was in the process of entering into joint management as a strategy for significantly increasing the diversity and extent of Western Australia's conservation estate.

The major driver of joint land and sea management in Western Australia has been the legal risks and compensation implications caused by native title. The *Mabo II* ruling that recognized native title in 1992 and Federal Native Title Act in 1993 raised questions about how native title rights interacted with conservation

and pastoral lands. The native title case of Miriuwung-Gajerrong (MG) people in the Kimberley (known as *Wik II*) in 2002 found that lands reserved for conservation purposes and vested in a management body under West Australian legislation extinguished native title rights and interests. This curtailed the creation of new national parks and marine parks as there was no mechanism or process to address native title rights over these areas, and extinguishing native title without an agreement would lead to large compensation claims (Porter and Meyers 2008; Shibish 2015). An attempt to pass an Indigenous Conservation Title Bill in 2007 failed, leading to lengthy delays for a number of land negotiations between the state government and Aboriginal native title holders in the Pilbara and Kimberley. In 2011, the conservative Barnett government changed the Conservation and Land Management Act to allow joint management of national and marine parks and added a second purpose of management: "Protecting and conserving the value of the land to the culture and heritage of Aboriginal persons" (s56A). Parks and Wildlife Services were now able to negotiate with Aboriginal Traditional Owners where native title had been resolved to address the large area of land that had been purchased for conservation but not vested as national or marine parks.

By the 2010s, Aboriginal organizations were seeking to use native titles to secure resources for their communities to ensure their community and youth in particular had a future on their customary lands. They also wanted to ensure that their Country was protected from extractive activities that clashed with their responsibilities. The state government was seeking to increase the size and diversity of the conservation estate, and areas of high conservation value tended to be areas where native title rights continued to exist. National and marine parks offer a high level of protection in a state that has given precedence to the right to mine. The 2011 changes to the Conservation and Land Management Act opened the opportunity for Traditional Owners to negotiate Indigenous Land Use Agreements (ILUAs) with the state government that could secure funding for communities, including ranger programs, to participate in joint management over national parks and marine parks on their Country. When the McGowan Labor Party won the 2017 Western Australian election, the new government prioritized the creation of national and marine parks through joint management agreements. After a very slow and highly politicized response to native title and First Nations peoples' pressing need for collaborative approaches, joint management is now driving a historically large expansion of the conservation estate called *Plan for Our Parks*, and existing national and marine parks are now starting to change to joint management with traditional owners.

The Badimia Barna HCP was the basis for joint management planning due to its clear articulation of Badimia priorities. Badimia Bandi Barna started negotiating to jointly manage a new national park and Class A reserves in four locations on Barna. Through a series of meetings, Badimia Bandi Barna and Parks and Wildlife Services created draft management orders that provided the highest level of protection possible in Western Australia against resource exploration. The joint management agreement also provides ongoing funding for a state-funded Badimia Ranger program and guarantees funding for the management of Barna within these areas.

Badimia Bandi Barna will fill half the membership of the new Management Board for these conservation lands. Joint management also addresses the issue of public liability insurance, which is provided by the state government. This is the quickest way for Badimia to begin to manage parts of Barna.

Joint management negotiations bring together two different groups who are seeking to find shared ground. While Parks and Wildlife Services have experience working through these negotiations and Badimia people are well-versed in working with non-Aboriginal institutions, there are still points where ontological differences (different worldviews and priorities) reveal gaps in understanding and approach. Paying attention and responding to these gaps is very important. Richie Howitt and Sandra Suchet-Pearson (2006a, 11) identify the huge risks for Badimia people in collaborating with conservation land managers: "Rising to the challenges of social justice solely by harnessing the tools of Eurocentric knowledges risks reinforcing colonizing relationships." Carol had a major issue when her doctoral dissertation was misquoted without her permission. This lack of consultation created community tensions for Carol because although the Badimia Bandi Barna committee was aware of her doctoral research, they did not know its content. Some Badimia committee members assumed Carol had deliberately brought attention to her research and was trying to control the process. The park planners did not understand that cultural learning within the community was considered more important than Western learning and so were paying attention to the wrong kind of authority. They took Carol's doctoral research out of an academic context and clumsily used it in a Badimia community context. There was a lack of awareness of Badimia protocols for sharing Badimia knowledge, leading to an embarrassing situation for Carol, at that time the Chair of Badimia Bandi Barna, to repair the loss of reputation with Badimia people who insisted authority comes through community acknowledgment and respect. DBCA workers had awkwardly entered an arena with no knowledge of implications for community protocol and authority.

There were other issues with the joint management planning. From Parks and Wildlife Service's perspective, it was important that the negotiations were not shared outside of the Joint Management meetings, which is considered part of negotiating in good faith. However, Badimia community decision-making has an expectation that there will be wider community discussions and information sharing before decisions are made so that there is a shared community position. A second set of issues arose because of the effects of the native title process on Badimia Elders. Due to the dislocation caused by settler colonial policies and practices, there are some aspects of Badimia knowledge that are only known by a few senior people. However, some of these people have been greatly affected by the native title determination and were reluctant to participate in joint management planning or did not want their knowledge recorded. After all, one of the last areas that has not been colonized is the Badimia intellectual property held by these Elders, and collaboration risks this precious birthright being harnessed into a regressive structure. The marginalization and denigration of Badimia people within settler colonial society has led to a situation where important, ancient knowledge for land management is not accessible and may soon be lost.

The joint management agreements will be a significant outcome for Badimia Bandi Barna that is evidence of the commitment and effectiveness of the Badimia leaders who proactively responded to the native title determination. This means employment and a say over parts of Barna. At another level, joint management is considered a small part of what is necessary to achieve a Badimia cultural landscape. Badimia have a larger vision that is not just over small and separated parts of Barna. From a Badimia perspective, this is a fractured approach to Barna and community. They will not be satisfied with small pockets of land (relative to the extent of Barna) with limited jurisdiction and opportunities. Tod's research on joint management indicates a similar response elsewhere where senior First Nations people ask why these parts and why so little. This is not to belittle the significant commitment and contribution of DBCA to joint management, but rather to identify the considerable gulf that would remain even with the full implementation of joint management across Western Australia.

Settler colonial cultural landscape pitfalls and possibilities

Settler colonial cultural landscapes demand accounting for the social and ecological effects of colonial landscape change. Cultural landscapes therefore deny the division of cultural and environmental heritage as they are part of a single configuration of forces. Badimia leaders understand the configuration of human and non-human movements with a landscape determines both the characteristics and continued existence of heritage, life and communities in that landscape. Badimia Bandi Barna's actions and plans convey the importance and complexity of Badimia understandings of relationships between Badimia culture, heritage, Barna and all life within it, including Badimia people. Emotional and affective responses to Barna are essential to Badimia spirituality and landscape management. This is why they refuse to separate people, spirits and ecologies or to make choices between them. The definition of heritage in this book, as movement configured with an environment, resonates with the Badimia emphasis on place-based knowledge as part of ongoing essential relationships between Barna and Badimia people. Badimia are fiercely caring for localized practices that are embedded in their community and constantly dealing with whitestream failures to understand their ontology and respect their authority as traditional owners and custodians even now when this is broadly accepted.

Although a response to native title, shifts in conservation land management to conserve both First Nations heritage and ecologies are very important to environmental and cultural heritage conservation because they challenge binaries that have kept people from the special places they understand and maintain. For most of its existence, environmental conservation was predicated on the separation of humans and nature. The concept of "wilderness" embedded a narrow form of conservation that reduced the access and agency of First Nations people and contributed to a loss of knowledge that shaped and maintained diverse and vibrant ecosystems. It is no surprise to Badimia that the most biodiverse places on Earth today are the same places where First Nations people continue to own and manage their land, and one

of the largest changes to the Australian landscape was the end of First Nations land management (Fletcher et al. 2021).

Cultural landscape approaches in Australia have struggled to overcome settler colonial structures because Western approaches to conservation are structurally embedded in the expectations and perspectives of management agencies and broader society. UNESCO's cultural landscape programs in Australia demonstrate the problems that First Nations people face. When Uluṟu and Kata Tjuṯa were listed for their "natural" values as World Heritage in 1987, the Anangu people, who are the custodians of these places, complained that their culture and management were ignored. Anangu have been in a joint management arrangement with Parks Australia since 1985. These concerns resonated with other Traditional Owners and heritage professionals, leading to the introduction of the cultural landscape criteria for World Heritage status in 1992.

In 2021, a senior advisory group released a *Report on joint management arrangements for three Commonwealth national parks* (Vanstone et al. 2021) that included Uluṟu-Kata Tjuṯa National Park and Kakadu National Park (World Heritage listed in 1981). Despite the length of time since joint management was instituted in both locations, the Advisory Group identified a number of practices that frustrated Traditional Owner priorities and expectations in cultural authority, management, employment, tourism and business, infrastructure and funding. While the issues are too numerous to review here, the Advisory Group summarized the situation as "a systemic failure in Canberra to truly appreciate both the reality of Traditional Owners' legal ownership and the intrinsic value of local traditional knowledge and culture" (Vanstone et al. 2021, v). This report called for changes to the management of two World Heritage listed sites that were "in line with the significant advance in the recognition of the cultural importance and rights of Indigenous peoples" (Vanstone et al. 2021, 9).

The transformative potential of Badimia Bandi Barna and other traditional owners is therefore limited by a contest between scales of landscape management that draw on different structures to make claims for resources and authority. Badimia Bandi Barna pursue a rights-based approach that emphasizes international obligations of the state to Indigenous people, community obligations to Country, self-determination and community empowerment. Sovereignty is essential to the Badimia cultural landscape as this provides the basis for advocacy and contention. This contrasts with a state-based approach that limits considerations to the opportunities and engagement structures within joint management set by state policy and legislation.

The principles of heritage (from Chapter 1) are apparent throughout this chapter. While they align with contemporary approaches to cultural landscapes, they are still transformative in that they require that analysis and management is appropriate to settler colonial locations. The first and second principles require interrogation of specific configurations and the ways they hinder or progress different ecologies and groups. The first principle draws attention to how Badimia place-based knowledges are essential to cultural landscapes and require care. The biodiversity of Barna depends on a strong Badimia community who have the capacities and resources to practice and convey place-based skills and knowledge. The third principle is the most in danger of being overlooked: the politics and ethics of a heritage configuration affect

the phenomenon and its environment. Joint management of a cultural landscape is not enough. Cultural landscape analysis must interrogate the broader political alignments and circumstances that shape the kinds of political demands groups can make and how they are aligned together to progress their claims to conserve heritage and culture. This is directly relevant to the chances of biodiverse futures and the resilience of landscapes. Hence Michael-Shawn Fletcher and colleagues (2021, 5) prioritize the politics and ethics of resource management over knowledge integration when they identify how to ensure bioculturally diverse futures:

> 1) legally enable relatively autonomous Indigenous and locally led and managed territories; 2) truly engage with, embed and prioritize Indigenous and local knowledges; and 3) support Indigenous rights to land, resources, diverse livelihoods, and lifeways.

Badimia advocacy is therefore part of a broader movement that understands the future health and biodiversity of conservation areas globally is contingent on Indigenous occupancy, use and stewardship, and an effective way to recognize and interrogate this is through the concept of cultural landscapes.

Notes

1 For writing on the evolution and shifts in cultural landscape approaches, see Wylie (2007), Descola (2013) and Head (2016).
2 Both the Strategic Plan and the Healthy Country Plan (Dowling et al. 2021) can be downloaded from the Badimia Bandi Barna website: https://www.badimiabandibarnaac.org/our-aboriginal-corporation.

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8 How social media changes heritage (and everything else)

Tod Jones, Transpiosa Riomandha, and Hairus Salim

On 10 October 2009, a small group of friends from Yogyakarta set out on a day trip to visit Klenteng Purworejo, a small complex of Chinese Buddhist heritage sites in Central Java. After they returned, the pictures and comments about their trip posted on Facebook attracted a large number of comments and interest. They started organizing more activities and, in December 2010, they created the *Gorombolan Pemburu Batu* (the Stone Hunters Gang) Facebook page that they abbreviated to Bol Brutu. Yogyakarta is a national center for the arts and education and their friends were painters, photographers and writers. They began to produce works while at the archaeological sites. The group organized trips to marginal heritage sites across Indonesia and to record and comment on their and others' journeys using their Facebook page between 2010 and our time of writing. Based on a fun and creative engagement with heritage, photography, travel and food, Bol Brutu sustained their practices over nine years, with their activities peaking in 2014. They have 1778 members residing across Indonesia and overseas.

In 2010, Bol Brutu was unknowingly at the forefront of a global shift in heritage processes due to their use of social media. Tim Ingold (2011, 12) writes that "to be sentient … is to open up to a world." Social media is a shift in *sentience*, or how we perceive and feel things, due to the way it generates and amplifies new networks of stories and perceptions and from them flows and practices. Stories, as discussed in the preceding chapters, shape heritage due to how they guide perceptions and movements. Ingold again:

> The storied world … is a world of movement and becoming, in which anything—caught at a particular place and movement—enfolds within its constitution the history of relations that have brought it there. In such a world, we can understand the nature of things only by attending to their relations, or in other words, by telling their stories.
>
> (2011, 160)

The great historian of nationalism and of Indonesia, Benedict Anderson (1991), demonstrated how the rise of print media allowed people to imagine themselves as members of a national community. The rise of social media, like the rise of print media, is a technical shift in how people perceive their environments that interact

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with social movements and historical circumstances. Social media offers what we are going to call here digital *affordances*, or a range of new ways people perceive and act on their environments. In this way, social media is an evolution in our perception and awareness of others and our environments.

The uptake of the internet has been truly remarkable. In 2022, over 66 percent of the world's estimated population of 8.0 billion were thought to be internet users and 2.9 billion people use Facebook at least once a month.[1] In line with global trends, Indonesian's use of internet, including social media, has grown remarkably since 2000. The number of people estimated to be using the internet increased from 0.93 percent in 2000 to 62.1 percent in 2021.[2] However, in a population estimated to be 270 million in 2020,[3] the number of mobile phone subscriptions was 365 million in 2021 (more than the entire population of Indonesia), so internet use is likely to be far greater.[4] Indonesians have adapted quickly to social media use and are now the third largest national user group of Facebook.[5] While the internet has been a tool of political activism since its inception,[6] the most popular Facebook pages and news items in Indonesia are about celebrities. Like most countries, most use of the internet is not directly linked to political issues. Nonetheless, social media constitutes a growing set of overlapping networks within which new ideas flow and connections occur. In a blog published in July 2014, heritage and online media commentator Elanto Wijoyono argued that a new wave of heritage networks had formed using social media from the late 2000s and fostered, in Wijoyono's judgment, a more dynamic and creative engagement with heritage online than earlier place-based heritage groups or the state.[7]

The purpose of this chapter is to think through the importance of social media to heritage through how social media spreads stories that influence how people engage with heritage phenomena. Through a multiple methods study of Bol Brutu, we document and analyze the dynamics of an online heritage group, focusing on how its members' use of social media configures movements that shape contemporary heritage phenomena. This chapter is paired with and draws from Chapter 9, Transpiosa's description of the most coveted, most prized Bol Brutu practice: *blusukan*, or a journey of wayfaring and discovery. We treat Transpiosa's account as what Clifford Geertz (1973) calls thick description, or a description of an activity that includes its context as interpreted by the actors themselves.

Studying heritage movements

Heritage stories enter social media through a variety of types of groups with different dynamics. These include family and friends as well as social movements, celebrities, public and private heritage institutions and commercial campaigns among other networks. Our point here is not to define a comprehensive set of categories, but to acknowledge that the characteristics, goals and dynamics of these group types differ from each other and so do their use of social media. Our focus in this chapter is a social movement that focuses on heritage (Bol Brutu).

Social movements as a category of organizations have their own dynamics that differ from the residents discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. Heritage movements,

following the definition of social movement used by James M. Jasper (2014, 5), are defined here as sustained, intentional efforts to foster or retard changes to and engagement with heritage, primarily outside the normal institutional channels endorsed by authorities. As Jasper points out, social movements are persistently involved in a series of events (are sustained), filter their decisions through their own culture and psychology (are intentional in their actions), are of any and all political persuasions (both foster and retard change) and are distinguished from political parties and interest groups (are non-institutional). Their use of social media is conditioned by their need to both achieve their goals and sustain their movement.

Social movements are extremely important to society-wide shifts in perceptions, including about heritage. Heritage movements have been central to public understanding of heritage, heritage institutions like national trusts, and to the creation of heritage legislation (Mozaffari and Jones 2020a, 2020b). Tod has looked at the importance of social movements to heritage elsewhere with Ali Mozaffari and James M. Jasper, including both how to analyze them (Jones, Mozaffari and Jasper 2018, 2020; Jones, Riomandha and Salim 2020) and how they have been represented in heritage studies (Mozaffari and Jones 2020b). As in these publications, we take an interactionist perspective on social movements. Put briefly, an interactionalist perspective recognizes that players in social movements are evolving, mutually constituted entities that have multiple and shifting goals, and use various means and strategies. This differs from structuralist perspectives.[8]

While we explain our methods in more detail elsewhere (Jones et al. 2020), the mixed methods used in this chapter and the role of two of the authors as key organizers in Bol Brutu require that we explain who "we" are and how we gathered information for this chapter. Hairus and Transpiosa have participated in Bol Brutu since its inception and Transpiosa is a key player in Bol Brutu's online and offline activities. The involvement of key Bol Brutu members in authorship was crucial for there to be sufficient trust for data collection directly from Bol Brutu members, and it provides the basis for the recollections of the trip and activities discussed in the final section. Long-term and intimate participation in Bol Brutu activities and interactions is a central element of our methodology.

We used a mixed-methods approach for this project in order to address three important aspects of groups that utilize social media and that align with the sections in this chapter. First, we examined the cultural, social and political context of the group and their constituents, in particular the genealogies of the group due to the backgrounds of group members, and analysis of broader social and political shifts in Indonesia. Second, we analyzed the identity work and dynamics of the group through interviews and survey data we collected. The final section is our analysis of Transpiosa's road trip provided in Chapter 9 that displays the fun and unique relationships with heritage Bol Brutu fosters for its online membership.

Background: social movements and heritage in Indonesia

While social media is a relatively new social practice, the genealogies of social movements in Indonesia have a long history. Anna Tsing's (2005) genealogy of nature loving groups in Indonesia identifies four lineages that we consider here as

they are relevant to Bol Brutu. The first lineage, nationalist anti-politics, stems from the Suharto government's response to the politicized youth of the early years of independence that assisted to bring down the Sukarno government in 1965. Following student protests during the visit of the Japanese Prime Minister in 1974, the Suharto regime clamped down hard on student political activities, preventing any form of political activities outside state-controlled activities during short periods before tightly controlled elections (Mackie and MacIntyre 1994). Police monitored the activities of all groups, student or otherwise, from the 1970s until Suharto's resignation in 1998. Heritage during this time became a target of state-development, with the success of the reconstruction of Borobudur leading to investments in other heritage areas, and the spread of an archaeological bureaucracy across Indonesia. Heritage sites became linked to Suharto's emphasis on national harmony and state-led development as the expertly managed symbols of a glorious past. While there were limited opportunities for political protest for the duration of the Suharto regime, this changed in 1998 with the opening of the press and free elections, and then the decentralization of many areas of policy, including aspects of heritage policy, in 2002.

Tsing's second lineage is middle-class urban distinction that constitutes nature as an object to be explored, studied and admired in contrast to rural Indonesians who made use of the same resources and locations, raising the issue of the background and location of online heritage groups and how they perceive and use heritage. Tsing's third lineage invokes concerns with space that are apparent in online heritage groups reviewed above: the adventure geographies of nature loving groups, or their relationships to the perceived peripheries they visit. The final lineage is youthful consumerism, or the use of expensive equipment and the entry of photography and smartphones into commercial youth culture in Indonesia.

While these four lineages form a guide to our considerations of Bol Brutu and allow us to use nature loving groups as a point of comparison, archaeology in Indonesia has its own postcolonial lineages that require examination. As was explored in Chapters 5 and 6, the archaeological service in Indonesia arose from colonial preoccupations and concerns that have ongoing implications for both the content and management of heritage in Indonesia. Archaeological attention has focused on Hindu and Buddhist archaeological sites driven by a global focus on Greater India that emerged in the colonial research of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and continues to have resonance in the focus of art museums, tourism and UNESCO initiatives (Bloembergen and Eickhoff 2013, 2015). Like the colonial states that preceded them, postcolonial states have continued to use heritage to tie themselves to their populations and have justified their existence through their "expert" management of internationally recognized heritage sites. Furthermore, the exchange of and assistance with heritage creates postcolonial networks "of academic and political interdependencies and reciprocal obligations" (Bloembergen and Eickhoff 2015: 95). These uses of heritage broadly fit within Denis Byrne's (2009, 2014) argument for Western, rationalist heritage practices being privileged in Southeast Asia over the widespread practices of popular religion that bring an alternative set of relationships to heritage. However, as demonstrated in Chapters 5 and 6, local practices, including Javanese spirituality (Kejawen) and local Islamic practices, are widespread and support local versions of management and

conservation, and these practices are generally focused on less-popular sites that are locally managed. These sites have become the locus of Bol Brutu members' engagement with heritage.

Bol Brutu's context, members and movement dynamics

Political opportunities are important to all social movements, and Bol Brutu is no exception. The resignation of Suharto in 1998 and reinstatement of the parliamentary system was accompanied by an end to draconian regulations and crackdowns on gatherings of Indonesians and an explosion in new organizations and groups (Jones 2013). While the Special Region of Yogyakarta was less policed than other provinces and special regions, Yogyakartans also found themselves in a new climate of freedom of association that accompanied rapid growth in media organizations and greater political freedoms. For heritage movements, opportunities relate not only to political reform but also to changes in heritage management. While new heritage legislation that encouraged greater public participation was passed in 2010, the implementing legislation at the national level stalled for years, although it is being enacted through regulations at lower levels of government. The changing political climate and decentralization has fed into a debate within archaeology about public participation in site management, and a direction in 2011 to local caretakers (*juru pelihara* discussed in Chapter 6) of smaller archaeological sites to facilitate greater public access. While greater opportunities for organization preceded then interacted with the opening up of archaeological sites and the growth of social media, this did not open up access to all sites for Bol Brutu. A Bol Brutu founding member stated in an interview: "If we do our activities at sites that are already commercial, like Prambanan, Ratu Boko, Borobudur for instance, we will have problems with the staff."[9] Accordingly Bol Brutu's activities are oriented toward "marginal" sites on the periurban fringes of cities and in rural areas rather than popular sites that already attract large numbers of visitors.

Our survey of Bol Brutu participants revealed some interesting characteristics that distinguish them from Tsing's (2005) student-oriented nature loving groups (see Table 8.1). Bol Brutu members tend to be older, with almost half aged between 31 and 45 and almost 80 percent aged over 31. Members tend to live in urban areas, with their spread reflecting the group's origins in Yogyakarta (41 percent). Bol Brutu members tend to be highly educated with over 75 percent having a bachelor's degree and 22 percent a graduate degree. When asked about engagement with Bol Brutu before and after graduation, there appears to be little change in involvement. Another indication that Bol Brutu is not a student group is that only 5 percent of respondents are students, with many more working in higher education, the private sector, arts and culture and the media (see Table 8.1). Three-quarters of respondents were Javanese, reflecting the group's origins in Central Java. Bol Brutu is a community of educated, urban professionals that includes men and women with diverse religious affiliations.

Bol Brutu's founding and most active members are very clear that Bol Brutu is not political or engaged in advocacy, although reports of heritage controversies

Table 8.1 Demographic characteristics of Bol Brutu members (percent)

Variables	*Percent*
Gender (n = 83)	
Male	63
Female	37
Age (n = 82)	
18–30	22
31–45	49
46–60	28
61 and above	1
Home area (n = 85)	
Yogyakarta	41
Surabaya	12
Magelang	8
Jakarta	5
Sleman	5
Other	29
Level of education (n = 84)	
Middle school	4
Upper school	6
Studying at university	5
Bachelor degree	56
Masters degree	14
Doctoral degree	8
Other	7
Employment (n = 80)	
Higher education	31
Private sector	21
Arts and culture sector	14
Media	13
Civil servant	6
Student	5
Ethnicity (n = 84)	
Jawa	76
Religion (n = 85)	
Islam	71
Catholic	13
Protestant	7
Hindu	6
Buddhist	2
Other	1

and notices of public debates and events critical of heritage management are often posted on the Bol Brutu Facebook page. In this sense, they are like Tsing's nature lovers in that their appeal is to an educated urban constituency who is seeking personal fulfilment within an Indonesian cosmopolitanism. The most regular interaction between members is on Facebook, which provides a number of affordances for these interactions that shape engagement with heritage and other members. While Facebook has a flat structure and is transparent in that all group members can see

posts, it is shaped by the principles of its administrators, who have a high degree of control and requires identity work from key members in order to generate an ongoing dynamic of interaction. Bol Brutu has a small group of administrators (approximately ten) who remove posts that constitute advertising, are inappropriate, or too far outside the interests of Bol Brutu members. However, they rely mostly on the continuous use of the page to draw attention to popular posts and interesting conversations: "If Bol Brutu lives, it lives on social media. Where is Bol Brutu's office? On Facebook."[10] Site visits, meals, and other Bol Brutu activities, including exhibitions, are organized and promoted through social media.

The key to continuous activity on Bol Brutu's Facebook group is regular posts and the promotion of events. Of the survey respondents in 2016, 59 percent looked every week and 21 percent posted a picture on average once a month. Posts are responded to with comments and "likes" (when a Facebook user indicates they like a comment or post by another user). There are a small group of key players who are central to generating and participating in comments and posts through both their popularity and their regular activity. Our survey indicated that 40 percent looked for the posts of a particular person, and two-thirds of those people looked for one player, Transpiosa Riomandha, while others also looked for Kris Budiman. Transpiosa and Kris are the two-key people in terms of both posts (Transpiosa has made the most posts followed by Kris) and comments (Kris followed by Transpiosa). As administrators and founding members, Transpiosa, Kris and some other key members undertake the identity work of posting, eliciting posts and commenting, as well as organizing offline activities. It is also worth noting that the number of posts is declining annually. From an average of 3.9 original posts per day in 2014, this figure reduced to 2.3 in 2015 and 1.2 in 2016, while other activities have remained regular or, in the case of exhibitions, increased in 2016 at the time of the survey. There are few posts now as other platforms (in particular WhatsApp) are now preferred and key Bol Brutu members have put their energies into other initiatives.

Posts, stories, wayfaring in Transpiosa's Cirebon road trip

When we asked Bol Brutu members what words best described Bol Brutu, the two most popular responses were "unique" and "blusukan." These two terms recur in blog posts and also in Transpiosa's description of the Cirebon road trip in Chapter 9. His first line describes the road trip as "fun and *unik*." While in English unique means only one of a particular type, Transpiosa and Bol Brutu members use it to refer to something interesting and exciting that is not available elsewhere, so Tod translates it as remarkable. There is a sense that the trip, and Bol Brutu's engagement with heritage, is special and unusual. How should we read these remarkable journeys and engagements? For this we turn to the term *blusukan*. As previously mentioned, *blusukan* are journeys of wayfaring and discovery. In addition to documenting the Cirebon road trip, Transpiosa's travel writing provides insights into how Bol Brutu sought to engage with and move through heritage places, and the kinds of connections and attitudes they fostered and spread through Facebook. In this section, we focus on aspects of

Transpiosa's road trip that draw out how Bol Brutu perceived and shaped heritage and its relationship with social media.

Tim Ingold's (2011) understanding of wayfaring is a good starting point for reflecting on *blusukan*. Ingold (2011, 154) defines wayfaring as having "no final destination, for wherever [s]he is, and so long as life goes on, there is somewhere further [s]he can go." The wayfarer is continually on the move in an ongoing process of growth and development, or self-renewal. They are actively engaged with the country that opens up along their paths. Wayfaring is process-oriented movement that emphasizes engagement with environments and learning from experiences. Transpiosa's *blusukan* similarly is not oriented to a single or even a few destinations, but to a way of moving and an account of perceptions and experiences that includes heritage phenomena. In fact, the purpose of the road trip, a talk and discussion of the book *Arca*, never happened. Following Ingold (2011, 148), we can think of each engagement with people and heritage phenomenon as an intersecting knot with other lines (as heritage phenomena are moving and changing too) along a line of movement that was made through responding to shifting circumstances and awareness of opportunities. The knots are not just heritage phenomena but also seek local cuisine, shopping, stopping overnight and the experience of travel. Bol Brutu's *blusukan* is not narrowly focused on heritage sites but locally engaged movement.

The *blusukan* process is fun, adaptive and shared. Transpiosa uses the Indonesian term *beramai-ramai* to explain how Bol Brutu behaved and engaged with heritage phenomenon. It signifies a good natured, busy energy that brings noise and activity and can be contrasted with the ordered stern reflection expected at large museums and galleries. He describes the questions, debates and jokes along with the photography and posting on Facebook. Transpiosa took a picture (Figure 9.10) of his friends gana-ing in the Tegal Square. In Hinduism, Gana are the attendants of Lord Shiva and are often represented in reliefs standing with their hands up by their heads and feet apart. This pose is a mark of a Bol Brutu member and is often posted on Facebook. The road trip included multiple visits to and meditation at gravesites (discussed in Chapter 6) indicating the importance of spiritual perceptions and ancestral connections important to many residents of Java. While Bol Brutu approaches heritage within a modern Indonesian sensibility (what Hildred Geertz (1963) termed the metropolitan superculture of Indonesia), it is important to note that this is not a scientific or strictly rational engagement with sites. Bol Brutu celebrates feelings and emotional connections across time and space, indicating that visceral experiences are recognized and celebrated alongside discussions about archaeology and history. Bol Brutu's *blusukan* is a process of movement communicated through social media that enables replication by members who can then identify and engage with Bol Brutu.

Social media and heritage

Most heritage social movements are online-offline, so it is important to pay attention to the full range of their engagements and activities. This broader perspective indicates how engagement with social media creates and amplifies flows of stories,

people and resources. Flows of attention directed through online interactions often translate into the movement of people into peripheral and forgotten sites, beginning new engagements and interactions. Social media also shifts engagements at the sites. It directs attention as well as introduces new practices (for instance, the selfie, gana-ing) and priorities. These offline, landscape-shaping activities are incomprehensible without recognizing social media; they are parts of the same heritage practice, and they open up both new ways of being in the world and new understandings of historic landscapes.

Like heritage and print media, digital affordances through social media do not align with political positions but become entwined with the perspectives and practices of social media users as they interact with and shape their environments. Bol Brutu brought an attractive cosmopolitan engagement and sensibility to pre and early Islamic heritage that was emulated through its mainly urban members. While fun and "unique" perspectives are essential for Bol Brutu, heritage groups' use of social media can open or close engagement with heritage. Cosmopolitan engagement and openness to the world is a characteristic of Bol Brutu rather than a feature of heritage movements or social media. The politics of social media are embedded in the stories that shape interactions with environments. Thinking of photographs and posts as stories that communicate movement, about where to find and how to understand and behave with heritage phenomena, explains the importance of social media for historic landscapes and heritage.

Notes

1 For Facebook statistics, see https://www.statista.com/statistics/268136/top-15-countries-based-on-number-of-facebook-users/.
2 According to Indonesian Bureau of Statistics data compiled by the UN specialized agency for information and communication technologies (ITU) (http://www.itu.int/en/ITU-D/Statistics/Pages/stat/default.aspx).
3 According to the Indonesian Bureau of Statistics (https://setkab.go.id/en/statistics-indonesia-releases-2020-census-results/).
4 According to Indonesian Ministry of Communications data compiled by the UN specialized agency for information and communication technologies (ITU) (http://www.itu.int/en/ITU-D/Statistics/Pages/stat/default.aspx).
5 Indonesian users of Facebook totaled 140 million in January 2023 according to data sourced from Statista.com (https://www.statista.com/statistics/268136/top-15-countries-based-on-number-of-facebook-users/).
6 It was an avenue for dissenting voices and publications in the last years of the Suharto regime, and students communicated through internet cafes to organize the 1998 protests that forced Suharto to resign (Hill and Sen 2005). Since the advent of free elections in 1999, the internet has been used in ethno-religious conflict in the Moluccas and by the Islamic fundamentalist movement (Lim 2005), and has been used to both pressure politicians to address specific issues, and by politicians to communicate with voters (Lim 2013; Molaei 2015)
7 https://elantowow.wordpress.com/2014/07/01/konservasi-pusaka-dalam-genggaman/#more-600.
8 Tod's article with Ali Mozaffari and James M. Jasper explains these differences (Jones, Mozaffari and Jasper 2018, 2020; Jones, Riomandha and Salim 2020). Put briefly, while structuralist perspectives posit the goals of social movements flow from structural

causes such as access to resources and political opportunities, an interactionalist perspective addresses structures while also recognizing that players in social movements are evolving, mutually constituted entities that have multiple, shifting, and at times preconscious goals, and use various means and strategies in pursuing them.

9 Interview 2A.

10 Interview 2B.

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9 Bol Brutu visits Cirebon

Reminiscences of a *blusukan*

Transpiosa Riomandha

I remember Bol Brutu's *blusukan*[1] to Cirebon as a fun and remarkable[2] journey. This chapter is based on memories that have scattered and possibly faded. At that time, Bol Brutu had just released the book *Arca* (Sculpture) and already had toured to PohSarang in Kediri, Trowulan in Mojokerto and the cultural center Grha Wismilak in Surabaya. Nanang, a Bol Brutu activist who works in the Bandung Archaeology Bureau, invited us to discuss *Arca* in Cirebon with two of the historical societies in West Java.

We enthusiastically accepted because it meant a road trip to Cirebon. Imagine all the sites and delicacies we would enjoy! After talking with friends in Cirebon through Nanang, Tantra made a poster that was uploaded on the Bol Brutu Facebook group several days before we departed.

Eventually, two cars were ready to venture to Cirebon. Putu Sutawijaya, Kris Budiman, Wahyu Aditantra and me, Cuk Riomandha were in the first car, while Apriadi Ujiarso (Uus), Endah Raharjo, Ninuk Retno Raras, Nurcahyati Wahyuni (Cik Hwa) and Vembri Waluyas were in the second. Meanwhile, Yeni Mada, Nanang and his wife had gathered together in Cirebon.

Our cars separated before Pekalongan, and one car took a quicker route to Bumiayu, while the second entered the city of Pekalongan. Each of the groups enjoyed the other's extra activities. If the first car enjoyed durian fruit in Bumiayu, then the second car would enjoy the food stalls in the old Sugar Factory at Banjaratma. We reunited in Slawi just after sunset. As the sky darkened, we made a pilgrimage to the grave of Slamet Gundono, an eccentric grass shadow-puppet artist. We were offered the chance to stay in the Master's old house that we had to decline because we were starving.

After Slawi, we then headed to Tegal to stay overnight and visit the grave of Sultan of Mataram Amangkurat Tegalwangi. Bli Putu, who had already visited there, told a story about the mysticism of that grave. When we visited, we did not feel the mystical ambiance, even though it was dark and *semriwing*.[3] It could be that our merry arrival changed the atmosphere. It was identical to the trip to the grave at Mount Kelir in Pleret Bantul, where a spooky cemetery became raucous when 40 Brutus visited.

We dined on the edge of the road toward the gravesite on a menu of Tegal fried rice. That night we shifted to Cirebon. I remember we stayed in the city center,

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Figure 9.1 Ms Kapsah's Docang at Kejaksaan Station in Cirebon. Photograph by Transpiosa Riomandha.

next to the Cirebon train station. Lying in bed that night, I already had aspirations to enjoy the Cirebon Station's surroundings.

That morning, before dawn broke, I had already traveled to the Station Kejaksaan area, where I ate Docang (Figure 9.1) at a highly recommended *warung* (roadside stall) next to the Station. The Bol Brutu community, including me, impulsively seeks amazing "local cuisine." Rice cakes topped with vegetables and thick gravy are embedded in my memory. Returning to our stay, we received news that the two Cirebon societies had another event that could not be missed. Instead, we were invited to stay at Prince Pesarean's Legacy Pendopo[4] in Gergunung, Sumber. As I remember, that morning we changed travel plans. We went to Cirebon's Kasepuhan Palace. Ceramic plates fixed to the Palace walls became a fun topic while we were there and some were painted with written stories from the Koran (shown in Figure 9.2).

Uncertainty about our book discussion in Cirebon motivated Nanang to invite us to the Kacirebonan Palace, one of the "Palace dynasties" in Cirebon along with the Kasepuhan Palace and the Kanoman Palace.[5] We were specially escorted by a Kacirebonan royal family member. He invited us to venture through a number of rooms that function like a museum (Figure 9.3). Like usual, several of us were lively with our questions and photography, both with our telephones and other devices. Vembri and Tantra, who are the most professional of the group, became the official photographers for our trip. They appear more active than the rest of us.

Afterward, we headed to Sunyaragi Park, a Cirebon heritage site that was built in the eighteenth century. Its architecture is unique, as if classic Hindu-Buddhist culture met with the ways of China via Europe. Being in a park that was once surrounded by water reminded us of Taman Sari in Yogyakarta. Water parks are fascinating structures and their continued existence connects the present with past kingdoms.

Figure 9.2 Ceramics from Kasepuhan Palace. Photograph by Transpiosa Riomandha.

After ordering an afternoon coffee, we soon went to Prince Pesarean's Legacy Pendopo where we were staying. We were exhausted by the time we arrived. Our accommodation was the Pendopo in the middle of an old cemetery. As a man who likes to *blusukan* to cemeteries, I was very excited. My other friends said that it was like this trip was designed for me. Our female friends stayed in a house near the cemetery, while the men were meant to stay in the Pendopo. Despite my desires,

Figure 9.3 Bol Butut in the Kacirebonan Palace. Photograph by Transpiosa Riomandha.

Figure 9.4 Bol Brutu heading toward the grave of Buyut Trusmi[6]. Photograph by Transpiosa Riomandha.

that night we all slowly moved into the kindergarten next to the house. Feeling more comfortable, we slept without seeing tombstones. Now that was an amazing experience, for us to sleep in an old cemetery complex on the edge of a powerful river.

When we woke up, we were greeted with Jamblang rice wrapped in teak leaves. After enjoying our Jamblang rice, we said goodbye without forgetting to give a thousand thanks for the opportunity to stay in that fantastic place.

We dropped in on a tiny building next to a rice paddy that is located beside a housing complex. This building is filled with unique statues when compared with other parts of Java. They call it Pejambon (the Jambonese), even though there are no signs. It seems this is a gathering place for statues that were found all over this area. Ganesha Pejambon is of special interest to us because of its simple form and funny appearance. Moments later, we moved our merriness from Cirebon City toward Trusmi.

Trusmi is a famous Batik[7] *kampung* (batik neighborhood) in Cirebon that is also the site of Buyut Trusmi's grave. We wanted to do a pilgrimage there to see the grave complex with its pool and tiny mosque (Figure 9.4). We chatted a while there, talking with the elders who looked after the complex. Buyut Trusmi is the pioneer who established Trusmi. Before enjoying another lunch of Jamblang rice, we took ourselves to several batik galleries in Trusmi. A few of us bought batik souvenirs (Figure 9.5). That afternoon we headed toward Yogyakarta. We said goodbye to Nanang and his wife who headed toward Bandung.

On the journey home, we stopped for a long time in Tegal. We enjoyed the City Square (Figure 9.6) and ventured to the Kek Hay Kiong Temple. Of course, like the previous places, we religiously took photographs that were posted on Facebook to spread our news to our friends. For Bol Brutu, photographs are important ingredients for dialogue between members and can become the start of a serious discussion about historical problems, art, or elicit statements like "I've already

Figure 9.5 Shopping for Batik in Trusmi. Photograph by Transpiosa Riomandha.

Figure 9.6 Bol Brutu gana-ing in the Tegal Square. In Hinduism, Gana are the attendants of Lord Shiva and are often represented in reliefs standing with their hands up by their heads and feet apart. Photograph by Transpiosa Riomandha.

Figure 9.7 Bol Brutu at Plawangan. Photograph by Transpiosa Riomandha.

been there you know!" As fellow wayfarers, candid photographs of our friends' behavior become the start of online banter.

At the end of our journey, we stopped in Pemalang. I saw the brown boards indicating a special site. The car turned around and we headed toward the place those boards revealed: Plawangan. We entered about 400 meters from the Pantura Highway. This place sits on the edge of the village and already has fences and a formal name. Plawangan is a brick ruin covered in thick green moss, including several long andesite bricks that look like they were in a doorway (Figure 9.7). It can be said that the presence of those rocks gives this site the Plawangan dynamic. In Javanese, *lawang* means door.

As the day grew dark, it was time we took the final stage of our return journey. We chose the road via Sukorejo to Temanggung. On several roads there were no other travelers and the only light came from our car. As everything darkened outside, in our car we sang and entertained, preventing any fear and helping us stay awake. That night, we stopped at the Parakan Temple and had dinner around Klenteng. We chose fried rice and fried noodles. All of our faces looked tired, but they were also smiling happily after our exceptional journey. While we did not have the opportunity to discuss *Arca* with the historical societies, we still loved our road trip. In the early hours of the morning, we arrived in Sangkring Bantul, Yogyakarta, where we first gathered. Each of us then returned to our homes. We all were ready with our photo-munition, which would be lobbed from tomorrow morning into Bol Brutu's Facebook page. We had finished the journey. We spread the news through Facebook and were ready to discuss it again and again.

Until we meet on the next Bol Brutu road trip.

Notes

1 *Blusukan* means or a journey of wayfaring and discovery. The meaning of *blusukan* and its significance to Bol Brutu is discussed in Chapter 8.
2 As noted in Chapter 8, the Indonesian word 'unik' is translated here as remarkable.
3 A Javanese term referring to the heightened feeling at a place when the wind blows softly.
4 A Pendopo is a Javanese pavilion with a tiled floor and no walls.
5 Cirebon has four well-known palaces.
6 Buyut means great grandfather or grandmother in Indonesian.
7 Batik is the cloth that is made through a process of wax application and dying that has a long tradition and strong association with parts of Indonesia, in particular Java. Batik heritage is discussed at length in Chapter 10.

10 Living cultures and heritage processes

Heritagization and batik

Tod Jones

In 1994, a UNESCO report made strong criticisms of UNESCO's approach to World Heritage. It pointed out that the World Heritage List was based "on an almost exclusively 'monumental' concept of the cultural heritage", and that this limited focus ignored other aspects of cultural groupings, many of which were complex and multidimensional (UNESCO 1994, 3). Living cultures, "with their depth, their wealth, their complexity and their diverse relationships with their environment," figured little on the list and, even if a traditional settlement achieved listing, it was only included in terms of its architectural value (1994, 4). Pulling no punches, the report concluded that this was an "impoverishment of the cultural expression of human societies" (1994, 4) due to its failure to address the complex relationships between peoples, their practices and their heritages. The report criticized the World Heritage List as being geographically biased toward Europe, categorically biased toward religious buildings and old towns, religiously biased toward Christianity and having a class bias toward "elitist" forms of architecture. This critique played an important role in changing the definitions of heritage and in expanding the scope of heritage management to encompass heritage initiatives with non-monumental traditions and living cultures.

The 1994 report was an ethical critique of the World Heritage List that borrowed from democratic language without explicitly advocating a democratic approach. It pointed a way to a World Heritage list that was "representative, balanced, and credible" through an expanded definition of heritage. However, any attempts to engage with living cultures, without fundamentally changing them or ignoring their practitioners, require participation and deliberation at levels far in advance of those currently practiced by most contemporary democracies. Expanding the scope of heritage management to include marginal traditions and cultures that can adapt quickly to outside influences requires highly ethical and very careful engagement with the configurations that sustain both these vulnerable communities and their heritages. The purpose of this chapter, building on the foundational principles in Chapter 1 and the longer discussions in Chapter 3, is to interrogate this ethical imperative of heritage management.

Heritage engagements with and commitments to living cultures require both a great awareness of the value(s) of these cultures and an examination of the ethics

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and responsibilities of heritage institutions, managers and researchers when they become entangled with heritage phenomena. This is complicated by the ways in which heritage carries the past into the present, and the role of heritage organizations and workers in shaping these meanings in a process that Carter et al. (2020, 2) call *heritagization*: "a form of cultural production and communication; a making and remaking of meaning and an ongoing negotiation between memory, identity and space."[1] While heritagization, the process of identifying and regulating heritage, is vitally important to heritage analysis, as I demonstrate through an analysis of batik cloth making later in this chapter, it is only part of the entanglements that constitute heritage phenomena. However, it is a vital part for the ethics of heritage research and management and for thinking through how heritage institutions and workers engage with heritage phenomena. I chose the example of batik because I had used a process-oriented approach to analyze the inclusion of batik on UNESCO's Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in what was a study of heritagization through a listing process (Jones 2018). Subsequently, I realized that there were many gaps in my previous analysis, and that I had failed to consider how heritagization interacts with other processes that are vital elements affecting the contemporary endurance of the cultural practice of batik, and how important issues of equity and ethics exist within the meshwork of batik production and commemoration. I conclude this chapter by considering the relationship between the process of heritagization and the existence of heritage as movement and by considering how process-oriented approaches can contribute toward an understanding of how heritage studies might contribute to the study of the care of precious things.

International processes of heritagization

While I am clearly in favor of expanding what fits within the academic and professional definitions of heritage, I would argue, similarly to Harrison (2013), that the expansion of categories and listings that has taken place so far has not been sufficiently careful or critical. Heritagization generally transforms heritage processes through the recommendations of heritage managers and researchers and commonly relies on state funding. Heritagization is only one means by which heritage phenomena are maintained. As I have demonstrated in the preceding chapters, there are many ways of configuring heritage and the environments within which precious things are cared for, and I have argued for a definition of heritage processes that is sufficiently broad to acknowledge and work with other ways of regulating heritage. International initiatives by academics and professionals have expanded the scope of heritage to make it more inclusive. However, if they are insufficiently aware and critical of the process of heritagization and of their role in this process, international programs can fail to acknowledge their impacts on other ways of maintaining cultural heritage phenomena, in particular community-based management.

UNESCO's approach to living cultures, as articulated in its definition of intangible cultural heritage (ICH), reflects both a progression toward a more complex and

complete definition of heritage and the pressures and limitations of its institutional setting in UNESCO:

> the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills—as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith—that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. For the purposes of this Convention, consideration will be given solely to such intangible cultural heritage as is compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals, and of sustainable development.
>
> (Article 2.1)

The definition has many similarities to my definition of heritage as movement in configuration with an environment. It has a focus on phenomena and includes objects and environments. The interplay between heritage and environment is central to this definition and it includes spaces (associated "cultural spaces"). While not acknowledging the physical forces that shape heritage, it acknowledges that, in heritage terms, an environment is a repository of cultural values that sustains practices. Some cultural heritage practices do not promote "respect for cultural diversity and human creativity" but still should be considered to fall within the category of heritage even though they would be inappropriate for inclusion in UNESCO's ICH program. Similarly, the final sentence, limiting what is considered to be ICH "for the purposes of the convention," is fine for UNESCO. However, research should not have such limits as it should recognize and seek to understand those heritage phenomena that exist in configuration with practices that are discriminatory, harmful, or violent.

As a supplement to World Heritage, ICH both troubles World Heritage's limited focus on monuments, sites and landscapes and addresses a gap in UNESCO's heritage program. Its useful recognition of the importance of broader heritage relationships and types of management has been constrained and limited by its separation from the World Heritage program. The changes to the World Heritage program from the 1990s, such as the inclusion of cultural landscapes, resulted from a reorganization of its categories rather than from a fundamental revision of how it conceives and classifies heritage (Harrison 2013, 137). The more interesting ICH approach, with its far greater transformative potential, became a poor, younger sibling of the better funded, already-established World Heritage program. This represents a lost opportunity for a far-reaching reconsideration of what heritage is and how it can be managed. It also contributed to the separation of tangible and intangible heritage programs globally even though there is no separation between them in the ICH definition, and all heritage only endures because it is valorized as such by living cultures of some kind.

The "implicit criteria" for inclusion on ICH lists indicates a broad awareness of the existence and the effects of the process of heritagization. The implicit criteria exist in two registers. The first register is the exclusions from listings for particular cultural practices. Marc Jacobs (2014, 113–4) summarizes this register as "no electricity," no cyber culture and "no traditions from European elite culture; preferably non-European phenomena or 'traditional popular culture' from Europe." The second register underlies and shapes the first: it relies on divisions and relationships between popular, contemporary and elite culture. It defines contemporary as referring to newer practices and pastimes that are more integrated into capitalist mass-production, so that their endurance is more likely, and their protection less urgent. From Jacobs' (2014) vantage point in Europe and mine in Australia, European elite culture resists this form of heritagization in order to distinguish itself from traditional culture while retaining access to public funding by other means. This has not been the case for elite traditions from Asia in particular, where, for instance, the Royal Ballet of Cambodia and Nha Nhac, Vietnamese court music, have sought and received assent for inclusion on the ICH Representative List.

While this is not the place to address the many issues with UNESCO's heritage programs or to give a detailed account of their effects (on the ICH program, see Jones 2018), it is fair to say that UNESCO has struggled to address its member states' pursuit of nationalist and celebratory approaches that lack detailed and critical engagement with heritage phenomena. A more reflexive approach that addresses a more complete range of entanglements with heritage would consider the process of listing as a form of heritagization that both has effects on and interacts with existing regimes of care and previous heritagization processes. Understanding these alignments should provide a basis for interventions if the mistakes of the past are to be avoided in the future, and the exclusions and losses resulting from past processes of heritagization are to be addressed. A critical and productive approach to heritagization begins with a critical appraisal of the position of heritage managers and researchers in these inevitable entanglements.

Starting with entanglements

I start with one of the key propositions from my early chapters and from more than human approaches to heritage: humans are enmeshed in mutual dependencies between living and non-living things, and the systems and extent of acknowledgment of these entanglements differs between societies and cultures. Deborah Bird Rose's (1996, 1999, 2004) work with Australian Aboriginal people is instructive here because of her focus on the webs of connection between Aboriginal people and their countries (composite living entities that include plants, animals, earth, water, sky and creation spirits), and because of her insights into outsiders' engagements with these responsibilities (what UNESCO calls living cultures). According to Rose, from such a perspective mainstream Western heritage appears as "a narrow domain carved out of a much wider set of relationships and processes, and hedged about by exclusions so that only humans and the meanings they make in the world count" (Harrison and Rose 2010, 250). She also recognizes the dangers of the sorts of

invasive appropriation that white institutions and researchers have, for centuries, pursued in relation to Indigenous communities. Furthermore, the singular pursuit of individual or institutional goals that remains normative in Western policy and society inevitably undermines Aboriginal people's responsibilities. Notwithstanding these dangers, there is a possibility that new understandings of self and care may develop through intercultural relationships:

> Remember that in a system of mutually embedded relationships of care, one can neither unfold nor enfold one's self. We depend on others to do this work. The path to connection therefore, does not seek connection, but rather seeks to enable the flourishing of others.
>
> (Rose 1999, 185)

Heritage maintenance and management has the potential to support the flourishing of people and heritage. A useful way of thinking of such a role for heritage management is in terms of relational accountability (Wilson 2008), in which the role of heritage managers and researchers is to assist communities in upholding their accountabilities to place and kin, human and non-human.

Heritage can generate openings for dialogues between people who have custody of alternative regimes of care (see Introduction and Chapter 3) in contemporary planning and governance. Heritage can create opportunities for the sharing of stories that entangle listeners and open them up to unknown lives, livelihoods and landscapes. First, though, there needs to be an attentiveness to and an awareness within heritage institutions of the politics and ethics of engaging in relationships with these communities since these are demanding and can be compromising for both communities and institutions. Anyone who has worked on heritage projects with communities finds any of their romantic assumptions over past or present harmony are quickly challenged. These engagements require reflexive approaches and clear shared protocols if they are to achieve clear and creative accountabilities and reciprocities between communities and heritage institutions, and to avoid, as much as possible, invasive appropriation and misrepresentation of heritages and cultures and thereby any compromising of the people and groups involved.

An important principle for beginning with entanglement is the recognition that both heritages and communities have always been embedded in broader relationships of reciprocity and exchange. Understanding these larger movements and responses, from shifting climates and seasons to engagements with other communities and colonizers, situates living cultures as products of active and ongoing participation that shape and respond to environments in a variety of ways, and through a variety of ontologies (see Chapter 7). The movement of heritage and culture to museums and the involvement of heritage management carry these earlier regimes of care and traumas of loss into new sets and types of relations. The configurations of heritage phenomena and environment in these new circumstances should not signal the erasure of these earlier relations, but rather an extension and expression of these relationships within new configurations. Furthermore, heritagization is a process in which heritage concepts travel both ways. The purveyors of heritage practices will use heritage

concepts and arguments consciously and unconsciously in their interactions, and new actors, such as collectors, can become important. In the case of Javanese batik which I discuss below, various entanglements between batik producers and museums have been important to its form and endurance since 1875. Clifford's (1997, 2013) reflexive approach to the study of inclusion and display is useful here. He emphasizes ongoing responsibility and reciprocity between and within museums and communities and stresses the importance of addressing asymmetries of power.

Importantly, Clifford argues for "the local/global specificity of struggles and choices concerning inclusion, integrity, dialogue, translation, quality, and control" and that these choices can make "a place for strong, if precarious, initiatives that pull against established hierarchical legacies" (1997, 214). This brings in the question of scale (discussed in Chapter 4), or the politics of establishing and retaining flows of resources and attention across space. Doreen Massey (2005, 163–76), like Clifford, rejects universal rules that privilege either a closed local community or the power of a free-flowing globalized set of relationships. Instead, both Clifford and Massey recognize the importance of particular circumstances. From this perspective, heritage arrangements are forms of political position-taking that establish spatialized social practices and relations. These include the spatial relations that maintain heritage phenomena, from a courtly dance in Vietnam, to a statue in a New York museum, to a craft industry in India. Heritage engagements should not be the easy or removed position-taking of observers or pundits. They are the messy and difficult collaborations and combinations of real-world arrangements. It requires following Donna Harraway's (2016) incitement of "staying with the trouble", or to be present and engaged with the problems of a moment and an age, to discover what healing and learning is possible from the collaborations and arrangements that heritage practices allow and reveal.

Batik histories

Batik is a "handcrafted textile […] made by applying dots and lines of hot wax to cloth using a copper pen-like instrument (*canting tulis*), or copper stamps (*canting cap*), as a resist to hand-dyeing" (Directorate of Culture 2009, 1). The wax prevents dying so that, with repeated waxing and dying, batik cloth becomes intricately patterned and colored. This simple, daily task, sustained over time, has adapted to and now embodies historic schisms. It is entwined with international trading routes and relations, and has shaped bodies, lives, homes and neighborhoods for centuries. The geography and scales of a heritage practice can be limited in time and space or, in the case of artisanal practices like batik, they can stretch out across centuries and continents. These are complex entanglements that bring many lives, places and practices into alignments. How do we communicate a meshwork[2] that spans continents and centuries in heritage terms? How do we situate ourselves as heritage practitioners in these engagements and interrogate the range of particular circumstances that are stained by batik?

The intricacies and implications of applying wax to cloth and then dying it were not immediately apparent to me. My first experience of Batik, at the end of the 1990s when it was at its least popular, was of a cultural practice among Australian

academics. Senior academics wore bright, vibrant patterned batik shirts and dresses at Asian Studies conferences. The color combinations were strikingly different from the Western fashions that filled the outlets and advertisements of suburban Australia in the early 2000s. In my early 20s, I quickly and ignorantly made an association between old guard and bright shirt and decided not to emulate their fashion choices. My appreciation for the aesthetics and use of batik developed later through my frequent trips to Indonesia where it is worn both daily and for special occasions and from books and exhibitions (the former often from the latter) in Europe and Australia.

While a reference to "batick" was found on a bill of lading for cloth shipped to the Netherlands in 1641, the technique of resist dying using wax predates Javanese batik in other locations and by thousands of years. Contemporary Javanese batik underwent a period of extraordinary development in the seventeenth century during the reign of Sultan Agung (1613–1645), when patterns became increasingly intricate and symbolic, and certain designs were limited by sumptuary laws to use by aristocracy. Patterns became associated with feudal divisions (the trading class and the common people wore different designs) and batik production was linked to different courts (such as the *parang rusak* pattern in Figure 1), which had their own patterns and colors. Philip Kitley (1992) postulates that the limitations imposed by Dutch political and military power on the one hand, and Muslim restrictions on the use of images, led to the expression of status through design, quality and intense patterning. The invention and widespread use of the *canting*, a pen-like tool for drawing wax onto fabric, afforded this sophistication.

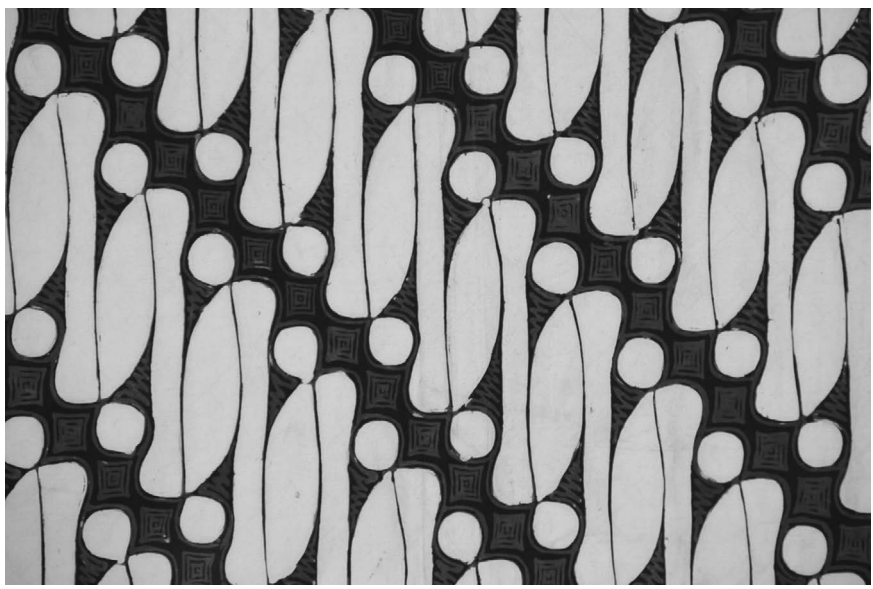

Figure 10.1 Batik cloth with a *parang rusak* or broken dagger motif. This motif was reserved for royalty, making it popular with the general public when it became more widely available. Certain versions are still reserved for royalty. Photograph by Arie Toursino Hadi/Alamy.

Court batik was produced by large numbers of women of noble rank, and patronage systems of production extended into surrounding rural areas.

The batiks of the Sultanates on the north coast of Java integrated Chinese and Arab patterns and motifs (see Figure 10.2). The trade centers of the north, such as the newer town of Pekalongan that was established in the seventeenth century, were more likely to incorporate new patterns for new markets. By the early 1800s, batik producers and traders were producing and distributing different styles to various ethnic and social groups which facilitated regional variation. The entrepreneurial batik entanglement incorporated Chinese and Arab finance, Dutch cloth, factories organized by Islamic-Javanese families, aristocratic Javanese women agents, and the labor of Javanese female artisans who applied the wax patterns. Pekalongan was also where *batik nonya* emerged in the 1840s when new enterprises run by Indo-European women incorporated European motifs and pictures.

As is already clear, batik evolved through a set of associations with different regions that reflected shifting political and economic relationships. Dutch colonial policy played an important role from the nineteenth century onward. Following the return of the Indies to Dutch control in 1816, the Netherlands began to develop a cloth printing industry in Europe on the basis of a monopoly over the supply of printed cloth to the Indonesian archipelago. Attempting to emulate the success of British cloth imports to India, Colonial Dutch researchers began to collect and investigate batik designs and techniques in preparation for the industrial production of printed batik that would be a cheap competitor to Javanese textiles. Indonesian batik makers responded by the invention of stamp, or *cap*, batik. From the 1850s, wooden and then copper stamps began to be used to quickly apply wax, thereby increasing the speed of the production process and making Javanese batik competitive with Dutch-printed batik. New dyes from Europe began to be used. Dutch-printed batik was not able to compete sufficiently with Indonesian *cap* batik and shifted its export focus to East Africa. Nonetheless, from this time Indonesian batik has been in competition with imported printed cloth. The Dutch attempt to take economic advantage of industrial capitalism transformed Indonesian batik production and batik began to be produced for larger markets. With this growth in production and markets, and in a shifting political context, regional and status differences in batik design and markets, while still important, became more fluid from the 1850s.

In the early twentieth century, the batik production system was prospering within a racially stratified economic system overseen by the Dutch, which was increasingly being criticized by many Indonesians. The first Indonesian nationalist organization, Sarekat Islam, was founded in 1912 by a batik entrepreneur, and batik producers coordinated their attempts to secure supplies in the 1930s. Batik was affected in World War I by the disruption in the supply of high-quality cotton from India and fared badly in the Great Depression and under Japanese occupation in World War II. Following the War of Independence against the Dutch in 1945–49, pent-up demand for batik led to a boom in production in the 1950s, and batik producers investigated styles that appealed to citizens of the new nation. They sought to transcend, but not to extinguish, regional styles which also allowed them to acknowledge, but to establish distance from, the now often unpopular Sultanates.

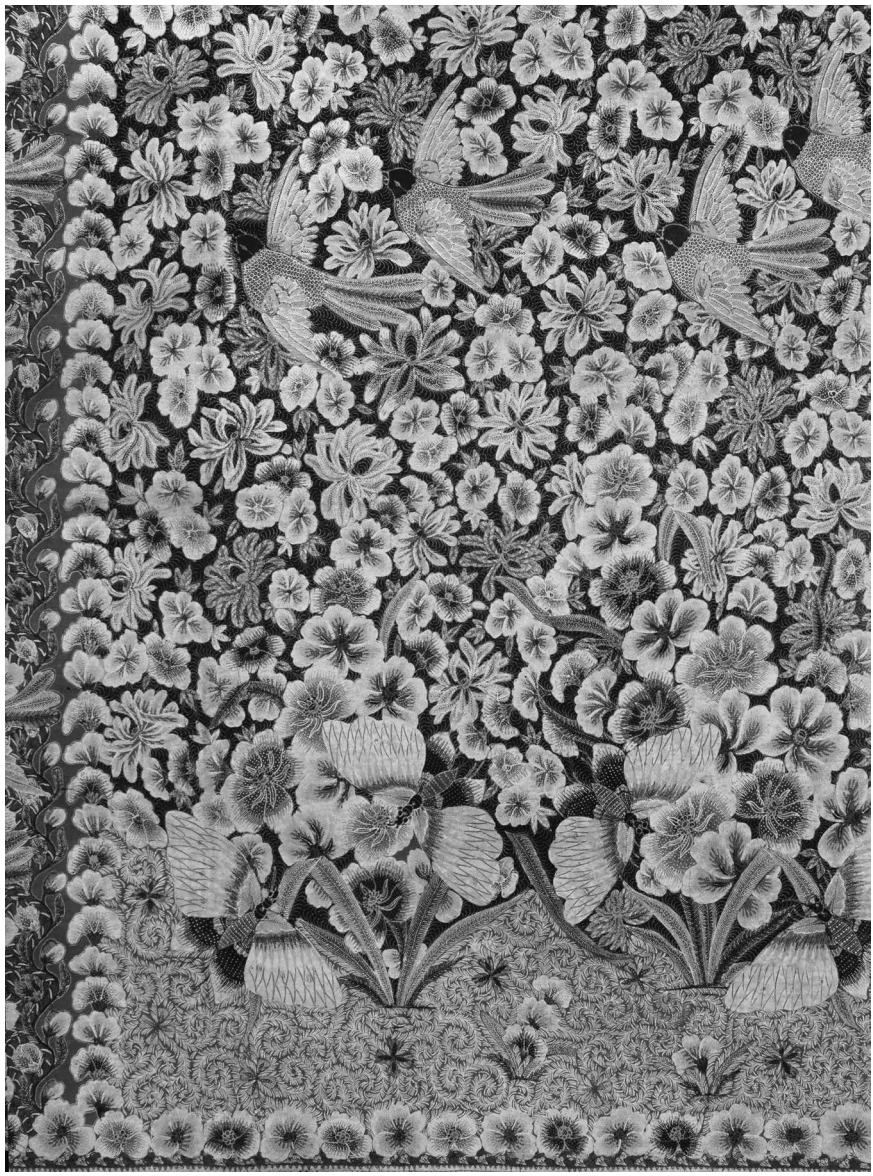

Figure 10.2 Batik cloth from Pekalongan. Initially incorporating Chinese design elements as an emerging center of trade without a royal family. Pekalongan continued to incorporate new design elements, such as the Japanese elements in this World War II era cloth. Photograph by Robert Harding/Alamy.

An initiative by the Surakarta batik maker K.R.R. Hardjonagoro and the batik entrepreneur Ibu Soed (Saridjah Bintang Soedibjo) led to an exhibition of new style combinations. President Sukarno invited Hardjonagoro to combine existing designs and motifs in new colors to produce *batik Indonesia*. As work and lifestyles changed in Indonesia following independence, batik once again adapted. In 1972, the Governor of Jakarta, Ali Sadikin, declared batik dress-shirts as official wear and they became the outfit of choice for evening events. While batik continued to make forays into fashion, deregulation of cloth imports in the 1970s led to the growth of commercially printed batik, and many handcraft batik businesses closed.

While publications at the turn of the twenty-first century had consigned "real batik" to the "memory and dreams of the general public" (Achjadi 1999a, 88), 2009 marked the beginning of a remarkable period of growth in batik production. To coincide with the UNESCO listing of batik on the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage, President Yudhoyono declared National Batik Day and encouraged civil servants to wear batik on Fridays. National Batik Day initiated a shift in office wear and then in casual wear across Indonesia that has revived the batik industry. The batik precinct of Laweyan in Solo can provide an example of this rollercoaster ride. From 230 batik enterprises in 1930, Laweyan was the location for only ten in 2003, but then for 70 in 2009.

Museums and Museum batik

My historic account of batik in the previous section is typical of the approach taken by batik books and museum displays, which are the main source of information for outsiders like me.[3] They are dominated by broad historic sweeps and the interpretation of motifs and patterns to explain ethnic and regional differences. Their focus is on cloth and on the past.

However, if heritage is understood as movement configured with an environment, more is required from our accounts about batik. The first requirement is more complete accounts of the powerful relationship between batik and its environments. Enduring artisanal practices do more than shape their products; they shape bodies, houses, neighborhoods and socio-economic systems. Batik is a product of overlapping histories that operate across many scales of space-time. While patterned cloth is a part of these histories, the batik industry has, over time, shaped many other phenomena. I investigate these shifting configurations and some of the enduring heritage phenomena that have been and are configured with batik throughout the rest of this chapter.

Heritage approaches to cultural practices need to be broad in relation to the scope of the things they consider, but precise in their concepts and analysis. There is generally little clarity in books on batik between considerations of batik cloth and batik making. To *batik* in Indonesian is the work of making batik, and I similarly define it here as an artisanal practice. Heritage considerations need to reflect on both the endurance of the artisanal practice of making batik, and the endurance of both new and old batik objects. Museums discuss batik making (generally in a couple of paragraphs before moving on to histories and cloths) but are not

themselves engaged in it. Their expertise is in the preservation and display of what I call museum batik items, older cloths and collectables. These are both the product of and within the realm of heritagization.

Museum batik, the practice of conserving batik items in collections, helps batik items to endure through the attention given to retarding their deterioration. Conservator Linda Hansen (2000) provides an overview of the conservation of museum batiks. She identifies threats from biological damage (such as insects, mice, mold and brown stains) and chemical damage (from light, heat and dehydration). The museum itself is a risk to museum batik as a result of the need for handling, as are the batik's past uses. Hansen (2000, 207) writes: "The outcome is that a batik collection is constantly threatened by decay unless a museum has adequate conservation and restoration facilities." Indeed, it is a remarkable feat that batik from the nineteenth century is common in Netherlands museums given its inherent qualities. Care for museum batik at the Rotterdam Museum of Ethnology dates back to 1885 following the donation of 100 batik cloths when the museum was founded in 1884. Some threats to these items require movement. In World War II, the collections were moved to safe places outside of cities. Batik items stored in museums today are maintained at 18°C and a humidity level of 53 percent and the batik is rolled over an acid-free cardboard cylinder to avoid creases. When deterioration occurs, processes of active conservation, such as sewing or gluing are employed, and museum batik cloth is never washed. Display requires knowledge and skill, including knowing when to rotate displays to avoid deterioration. This is a complex and sustained regime of care.

The limitations in many catalogues and books reflect a focus on explaining and interpreting batik collections. The presence of museum batik supports the value of collections, together with continued public funding and the understanding of historical batik. It also raises questions about the role of museums in promoting the understanding contemporary batik cloths and their obligations to contemporary batik practices. While some museums now use their collections for new engagements that provide perspectives of, and opportunities for, contemporary batik producers,[4] many are focused only on their historical collections.

This heritagization of batik has continuing implications for contemporary commercial batik making.[5] Batik cloth caught the attention of Dutch industrialists when the first batik samples arrived in the Netherlands in 1819. Based on this and other industrial collections, batik entered the colonial museums from their inception in the 1880s and became an object of research. In their role as the scientific arm of colonialism, museums provided information on regional difference, symbolism, status and artistic merit when displaying and explaining batik that continue to be the basis of categorizations today. These explanations and the striking patterns and colors of batik cloth made batik a favored item in displays about first Javanese and then Indonesian peoples and cultures. By the start of the twentieth century, this museumization had turned batik into a form of Javanese art.

Museums were central to establishing batik's meaning and value to Europeans, meanings and values which then spread around the world, including back to Indonesia. This included establishing the value of batik collections both aesthetically

and economically. From 1850 until the 1970s, the primary axis of value and heritage judgment was "authenticity", or the extent to which the batik item matched with the museums' judgment of what was authentic for a particular region. The court batik of Central Java fared well in the estimation of European experts as unchanging tradition, the coastal batik less so due to their entrepreneurs' regular adaptations to new tastes and markets. The greatest scorn was reserved for *European batik* produced by Indo-European women from this industry's center in Pekalongan. This was thought to be a dangerous "Europeanization" of a Javanese tradition and was referred to as "bastardization" and a "deplorable degeneration" (Legêne and Waaldijk 2001, 51). While *European batik* was revisited and celebrated in museums in the 1970s, aspects of this demarcation continue today in the division between museum and contemporary batik, and this echoes wider current attitudes to local revivals of crafts and performances (such as those by the artisans of Trowulan and the New Majapahit Art discussed in Chapter 5), which are deemed to be copies, fakes and imitations. The continued inscription of binaries between old/new, authentic/inauthentic and Javanese/European primarily benefits collectors and museums to the detriment of the contemporary batik industry. Detaching current batik makers and new batik cloth, which has adapted its colors and patterns for contemporary Indonesian tastes, from a heritagized tradition also places a barrier between them and Western markets.

There are ample grounds for connection between museum and contemporary batik as symbols and connections are continually refigured by batik artisans to produce new patterns. There is little celebration in books and museums of contemporary innovations, or of how adaptations have allowed technical and historical knowledge to be sustained within families and communities over centuries notwithstanding frequent technical and political changes. To work effectively with these ongoing artisanal practices, museums need to build alignments and to achieve mutually beneficial outcomes. These are not hard to find, but to do so museums need to connect their collections with contemporary batik rather than to differentiate themselves from it.

Skills, materials, bodies

The knowledge and skills of museum batik practitioners in influencing flows and interacting with materials are very different from the knowledge and skills of batik artisans. Most books on batik only briefly mention the skill, effort and knowledge of materials required to produce *batik tulis*. Those authors who do mention this have all studied batik making and draw attention to its difficulty. Dutch artists who experimented with batik at the end of the nineteenth century similarly admitted to preferring to apply wax with brushes due to the skill required to wield a *canting* (Legêne and Waaldijk 2001). I will admit to trying to batik and being terrible at it, so I use the observations of Western authors who learnt to batik after years of study.

Batik tulis requires mastery of the *canting* (pronounced chan-ting), a small, thin-walled, spouted, copper vessel of a similar size to a pipe bowl, attached to the end of a bamboo handle (see Figure 10.3). Hot wax is poured into the bowl and runs

down the small, downward-curved spout and onto the fabric. The invention of the *canting* made the intricacies of Javanese batik possible and gave rise to a new set of skills among batik artisans. Trish Hodge describes its use:

> To begin work the batik waxer holds the *canting* in the hot wax for about a minute to heat it up. Then she fills it just so—not too little, not too much—takes it out of the wax, wipes the excess from the outside of the copper bowl on the side of the pan and blows on the tip of the spout to remove any excess wax there. Her movements must be very decisive and quick in applying the wax to the cloth. Any hesitation results in a blob of wax instead of the intended small dot or line. The wax cools quickly, so after a minute or so she must dip the *canting* in the wax and begin again. The process takes a great deal of patience and concentration.
>
> (1999, 6)

Similarly, Philip Kitley (1992, 13) found the *canting* required "a delicacy and expertness of touch and control" and called it a tool "of care, of painstaking attention to detail, of subtle involvement in the work in hand." Given the skill and control required, the remaking of fine patterns in large batik sarongs is perhaps a more remarkable achievement than the devising of new or unique patterns.

Batik requires more than wax, *canting* and artisan. The intricacy of the patterns was only possible after the introduction of finely woven cloth generally produced in India and the Netherlands and imported by Dutch merchants from the seventeenth century onward. Dyes were traditionally produced naturally, with the

Figure 10.3 Batik artist using Canting Tulis in Kauman, Surakarta. Photograph by Tod Jones.

production process being closely guarded. Their success depended on more than the right proportions:

> Complex recipes with esoteric substances, such as chicken's blood, banana pulp, and fermented cassavas (added to the dye bath to ward off evil), were passed down through families. Dying was generally done by men. Rituals and taboos were observed to ensure a successful result. It was believed, for example, that if a man had an argument with his wife it would cause the dye to fail.
>
> (Hodge 1999, 11)

When synthetic dyes became available, they were quickly incorporated into the aesthetics and cosmology of batik artisans. The wax used is a mixture of different waxes, often including resin, beeswax, rosin, fat and paraffin wax. It is prepared in different proportions for different jobs. Wax recipes can vary with season and temperature and for different effects. The recipes for wax are closely guarded in Java as the properties of wax mixes are an essential contributor to the quality of fine batik.

The *cap*, or copper stamps, are themselves remarkable inventions. In order to imitate existing patterns, *cap* require fine strips of copper needles and exactly paired stamps so that wax can be applied to both sides of the cloth. While much faster and less exacting than the use of a *canting,* applying a *cap* still requires care, patience and attention. Both types of batik application have adverse effects on the bodies of artisans. The fumes of hot wax, breathed over many years, often lead to respiratory ailments and thick glasses are commonly worn by older workers following years of doing fine, detailed work in dimly lit spaces.

The flow of batik relies on the qualities and knowledge of wax and dyes, and the skilled engagement of batik artisans with their cultural and physical environments. It requires a fluid alignment of body, attention and materials to produce particular patterns and qualities in batik cloth. Each cloth is a skilled weaving together of substances and flows only attainable through years of training and attention. This training mostly happens within families. Daughters learn through waxing the back of the cloths that their mothers have waxed, and batik business owners will often include the names of their children in order to build them a reputation if they are to inherit its management and clientele. Batik is an inheritance, a livelihood that is passed from parents to children.

Batik rhythms in buildings and neighborhoods

My appreciation of how the rhythms of batik production extend into houses and landscapes began in 2014 when I visited the architect Kusumaningdyah Nurul Handayani in Solo, Central Java, and she took me to an old batik district, Laweyan, a 20-minute drive northwest of the city center. We walked around the narrow alleys of Laweyan that were lined by the tall walls of compounds. Laweyan previously had the most intensive concentration of batik enterprises in the Solo region, itself known as a batik production center. Behind these tall walls stood fine Javanese houses from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a period when the

batik industry was prospering. Laweyan is an old neighborhood located at the confluence of two rivers. Batik production began in Laweyan in the 1870s when the population of Java was increasing rapidly and Solo was linked to East and West Java by rail. Taking advantage of the growing demand for central Javanese court batik, Laweyan concentrated on *batik cap* for a mass market. Laweyan had a good water supply and land was available for an expanding industry.[6]

The houses of batik entrepreneurs in Laweyan were large by Javanese standards and they combined European and Javanese styles and aesthetics. They were built by a modern and engaged community in the early twentieth century that nevertheless erected barriers to outsiders and saw itself as separate from the rest of Solo. The strong links between family and the batik business bound Laweyan to the rocky road of the batik market in the twentieth century. As family enterprises, the livelihoods of children and grandchildren were tied to establishing well-matched, entrepreneurial couples who could perform the gendered roles of batik production and trading. Rather than diversify or shift into new activities, the batik families of Laweyan tended to remain in the batik industry, and the neighborhood retained a distinctive landscape and the architecture of late colonial Java.

Batik making took place in the compounds, in workshops at the back of the houses. The Javanese middle class displayed their wealth through building *Limasan* houses that were constructed with both a formal area at the front (the *pendhapa*), a living space (*pinggittan* and *dalam ageng*) and a working space at the rear of the house (*gandhok*). The *gandhok* was where the wet batik processes (such as dying, washing and drying) were carried out, while drawing and sewing were undertaken in other parts of the house. However, *limasan* houses in batik districts are not where the majority of *batik tulis i*s produced. Most hand-painted batik is produced in the homes of working class or poor rural families who have passed down the skills and understanding of batik through generations of daughters. The village (*kampung*) houses of the working classes were also shaped through their dual domestic and economic uses, including the production and teaching of batik, but they have not received the same academic and architectural attention as the *limasan* houses of the middle class.

Another impact on neighborhoods that has received little attention in heritage books and exhibitions, but some attention in engineering journals, is the pollution caused by batik production. Due to the sewerage systems of Java, wastewater from dying and washing has historically been released into rivers and waterways. Before the invention of the *cap* and the expansion of markets in the mid-nineteenth century, production was smaller and slower, and Java had a smaller population. Large increases in production and the introduction of synthetic dyes have both impacted the scale and extent of pollution. Approximately 95 percent of the dyes are disposed of as waste (Lestari et al. 2018). In Pekalongan, the groundwater is colored by dyes from batik wastewater, and this water pollution has contributed to allergies in children. Another issue is inefficient water use within the batik industry, with one cloth requiring between 40 and 80 liters of wastewater and graywater (Handayani, Kristijanto and Hunga 2019). The return of batik to neighborhoods is also the return of water pollution.

The decline of batik had, by the 1990s, become evident in Laweyan. Anthropologist Suzanne Brenner's (1998) research on the Laweyan community documents how batik families were encouraging scions to enter other fields, and skilled batik workers were seeking work in construction and as servants and rickshaw drivers. The majority of the grand properties were run down, and little batik was being produced in Laweyan. In 2004, a group of Laweyan residents formed the Laweyan Batik Neighborhood Development Forum (*Forum Pengembangan Kampung Batik Laweyan*), which began to encourage local people to restart batik businesses. Their efforts were catalyzed by the ICH listing of batik in 2009 and by President Yudhoyono's promotion of batik as office wear.

The start of new businesses and growing demand for Laweyan batik, following a 30-year period of economic downturn, established a boom-bust-boom cycle similar to that needed for the creation of tourist-historic cities and exerting similar pressures on historic landscapes (Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000). Laweyan is now promoted as a batik district (*batik kampong*), a term that now brings with it connotations of heritage and art. However, the meshwork is also changing with this new wealth and with the increased movement of tourists to places of batik production. New factories have entered the industry to take advantage of the Laweyan brand (see Figure 10.4), new houses have introduced modern architectural styles into the neighborhood (see Figure 10.5), and the increasing number of tourists visiting has led to new retail outlets being built into the walls of compounds (see Figure 10.6). As the rhythms of batik production change, so do places and landscapes.

Figure 10.4 A new house here sits next to traditional houses inside the Laweyan neighborhood (2012). Photograph by Tod Jones.

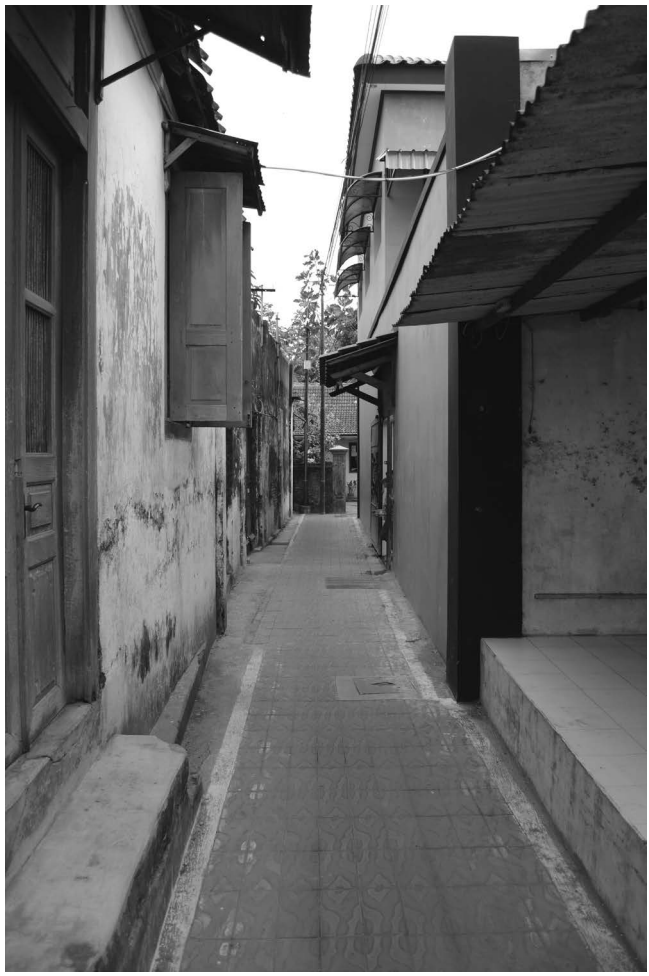

Figure 10.5 A new factory on the right sits opposite a traditional factory on the left (2012). Photograph by Tod Jones.

Java's invisible batik factories

The title of this section is from the conclusion of Rebecca Joseph's (1987) impressive thesis on batik production in Imogiri in the Bantul regency south of Yogyakarta.[7] She summarizes the organization of batik production as "invisible factories" where the division of labor is highly specialized horizontally and vertically in a decentralized system. I start with the horizontal division. There is a strongly gendered division of labor between different batik production activities. The *batik tulis* artisans are predominantly women, and painting batik is considered women's work in Java. The work is low-paid despite the production of spiritually powerful batik and is predominantly done in the rural homes of the workers. Most women who

Figure 10.6 An outlet store built into the wall of a batik compound in Laweyan (2012). Photograph by Tod Jones.

make batik are landless or land-poor and have low social status. *Batik cap* artisans are predominantly male, and the work is said to require more physical strength. *Batik cap* work is centralized in urban areas, and *batik cap* artisans are better paid than *batik tulis* artisans. Dying is also generally undertaken by men.

The low status of *batik tulis* artisans is reinforced by the "putting-out" system of batik production. The basic characteristic of a putting-out system is the exchange of raw materials or semi-finished products with remuneration provided for completed work at the end of the next task in the production process. Rural households in areas with limited opportunities in agriculture can use batik to diversify their income and to supplement agricultural work since batik work is flexible and can be done around child care and other household tasks. The majority of batik artisans are rural-based homeworkers and their task is to paint the wax. The role of the middle man in Javanese batik production is generally played by women. Firms are often jointly owned by a couple, but women are most likely to take on responsibility for directing artisans and for the related financial transactions. These women are considered to be of higher status and are referred to generally as *mbok mas*. The mbok mas either contracts middle women to deliver wax, cloth and instructions to the artisans, or deals with them directly.

The differences in status are aligned with the financial arrangements between artisans and entrepreneurs. Artisans assume the risk of any delays or quality issues with their work and are reliant on the largesse of entrepreneurs to continue to provide them with work. The entrepreneur can refuse to pay, and there are few written agreements. Artisans can be laid off at any time and can become indebted to

entrepreneurs if they accept an advance and their work is rejected. Middle women are similarly at a disadvantage in relation to the mbok mas, who often makes half-payment for finished work and can reject work due to quality issues. They are not considered to be employees (so no minimum wage), have no social benefits and no income if there is no work or if sickness or family demands prevent them from working. Child labor is also common in rural home-working families. Anthropological research into these relationships documents how relationships of subservience and dependency have continued, over centuries, thereby maintaining the low status and poor pay of batik artisans despite the celebration of their craft nationally and internationally and its UNESCO heritage listing (Brenner 1998). The benefits of this celebration have largely accrued to the entrepreneurs.

These relations have been maintained for a long time. P. De Kat Angelino's study of batik in the 1920s documented the use of loans to trap batik artisans and he was critical of their dependent relationship and treatment. Joseph (1987) and Hassler (2005) document these continuing issues at the end of the twentieth century. Recent research demonstrates the ongoing importance of the putting-out system. Phelps and Wijaya (2020) found that 70 percent of workers in four batik districts were "outworkers" or people who worked from home, mostly in rural areas. In Laweyan, 61 percent of people employed in batik enterprises were outworkers.

Batik production creates a network of relationships that spreads through the rural hinterlands surrounding batik trading centers on Java. Often these relationships are formed over the specters of the industry's previous relationships with palaces and royalty. For instance, the batik production areas in Imogiri are also the location of a cemetery for the Sultan of Yogyakarta, and the entrepreneurs there had kinship connections to the royal family. While royal positions are still acknowledged, they do not bring the financial rewards of the past. However, the royal connections of the local business entrepreneurs are useful both for their business networks and in reinforcing the status differences that maintain the vertical divisions of labor between artisans, middle women and entrepreneurs.

Ethically engaging with Javanese batik

The echoes of colonial museum batik reverberate in both the absences and representations of batik today. Fears for its survival still abound. The threats presented in these representations are competition from industrial production, thus replicating the modern-traditional divide that has been used to characterize batik since its heritagization early in the nineteenth century. These acknowledged threats have not been linked to the structural issues in the batik production chain that have systemically silenced, marginalized and impoverished batik artisans. Rather than opening up and examining these contradictions, heritage management and research has tended to produce representations that hide or excuse the current position of the batik artisans.

In a practice that was widespread and, to a fair degree, continues to this day, museum batik ignores the skilled application of wax in *batik tulis* and *batik cap* by Javanese artisans and the role of non-European entrepreneurs. This is in no small

part due to a concept of authenticity that began in the nineteenth century with the representation that the batik styles of the courts of Central Java were more authentic than the more syncretic styles of the north coast. This product of the colonial desire to know, and of the resulting ethnocentric categories developed through the process of heritagization, has implications for contemporary batik production. The use of colonial authority to judge the authenticity and representativeness of batik has led to a situation whereby new patterns and techniques were denigrated rather than understood as extensions and adaptations of an evolving and dynamic cultural practice. This authority constrains the innovation and adaptation that is essential for survival in any industry.

A long-term focus on authenticity in the heritagization of batik has also contributed to the disappearance of artisans from the story if not from the industry. When summarizing attitudes to batik artisans in early batik exhibitions in the nineteenth century in the Netherlands, Legêne and Waaldijk (2001, 49) write:

> The artistic value of 'authentic' batik was somehow seen as an art without artists: the female designers of batik patterns were seen as part of the Javanese tradition. … As unconscious members of an ancient culture they just did what tradition told them to do.

To this day, batik artisans are not recognized for their skilled application of wax. This stands in contrast to the recognition of European artists who experimented with batik in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Legêne and Waaldijk 2001), and of contemporary Indonesian artists at the end of the twentieth century (Kitley 1986), who were all named. Gerret Pieter Rouffaer, the leading Dutch expert on batik at the start of the twentieth century, is a case in point.[8] While appreciating the skill and concentration necessary for *batik tulis*, he thought it an error to see artisans as independent artists but instead located the source of this skill as being in "her Javanese blood" and as something inherited rather than painstakingly learnt. Similar attitudes to artisans can be found among batik entrepreneurs. Joseph (1987, 147) writes that, while dyers and boilers are thought to require some degree of skill, women are thought to have "an innate ability to do *canting* work" that only requires practice. This perception reinforces their low status and pay despite their skills.

The role of heritage in the systematic marginalization of female batik artisans is troubling. Cautionary lessons about the roles of heritage experts and researchers endure from the colonial period. Rouffaer positions himself as the arbiter of tradition and quality, and as the authority who should direct colonial intervention in museums and in Indonesia to conserve authentic, high-quality batik. P. de Kat Angelino's (1930) *Batik-report* of 1930 documents the poor labor conditions of female batik workers and positions the Dutch colonial government as the source of their protection from Chinese, Arab and their "own" Javanese entrepreneurs. As in the museum batik publications, the documents proposing batik for the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity were silent rather than paternalistic on these issues. The absence of not only the voices of workers but a consideration of the history and effects of marginalization is striking.

While I have focused on the limitations of heritage hierarchies of value and on the issue of batik artisans, a second set of transformations driven by contemporary heritage approaches to batik is taking place at the level of neighborhoods and landscapes. Batik precincts are increasingly being recognized as cultural landscapes on Java, leading to heritage listings, to interpretations on signs and in other materials and to promotional campaigns. These are the location of batik enterprises, which, through a boom-bust-boom cycle, have kept enough of their older buildings to become tourist attractions for their architecture and ambience as well as through the presence of batik showrooms. Inclusive heritage research should link the material flows of batik production to the state of these neighborhoods. The issues of labor relations, pollution, water use and the management of new developments need to be part of this conversation as they are the side effects of the rhythms of batik and its returning popularity.

Heritage management and research today cannot ignore the regimes of value that they have helped to shape, such as the authenticity of batik, the working conditions of artisans or the effects of cultural practice on its environment. These are all aspects of the configuration of batik with its environments. Nor can it replicate the mistakes of earlier periods when it comes to interventions. Indonesia already has enough saviors. However, we are now entangled through these heritage stories with batik artisans, and although we can see their marks on batik cloth in books, shops and museums, their voices are not heard. This raises issues of power and authority in the representations of marginalized peoples. Gayatri Spivak's (1988, 102) statement about representations of widow burning practices also holds for *batik tulis* artisans:

> Between patriarchy and imperialism, subject-constitution and object-formation, the figure of the woman disappears, not into a pristine nothingness, but into a violent shuttling which is the displaced figuration of the 'third-world woman' caught between tradition and modernization.

Following Spivak, it is important to insist that the batik artisan is a heterogenous group of batik artisans, and that heritage experts should not presume to speak for her or her colleagues. However, there are other ways to approach the collapsed, gendered space of *batik tulis* artisans. Batik artisans are not permanently silenced like the widows that Spivak discusses, and there are possibilities for museums to approach them and their families who have managed to maintain skilled batik production for generations. The women in these families are likely to have personal collections of batik, patterns and materials that link generations through adaptations to the historical forces and structures that have transformed batik over time. Another approach is to examine how, despite national independence and growing wages, the working conditions of *batik tulis* artisans have remained so poor and to document the consequences of this state of affairs. This approach could relate batik production to the history of Indonesian unions, the effects of the elimination of the left (with the sanction of the CIA) in 1965–66 and the subsequent treatment of unions during Suharto's military dictatorship. Recent research indicates that batik enterprises are concerned about declining numbers of *batik tulis* artisans available

for the production of cloth (Phelps and Wijaya 2020). In an increasingly wealthy and middle-class society, such structural issues threaten to undermine continued *batik tulis* production.

Writing this chapter has forced me to confront the earlier mistakes in my analysis of the inscription of batik cloth on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (Jones 2018). There are issues with my too-narrow focus on the listing process. As an account of heritagization, my journal article located and documented batik's UNESCO listings, critically assessing how the process was assisted by shifts in Indonesia's cultural bureaucracy and UNESCO's focus on the coordination of listings. It also traced the impacts of the listing through to landscape changes in batik districts. However, I did not recognize the skilled production of batik in homes across rural Java or the skill required of *batik tulis* artisans. I also failed to draw attention to their erasure in the heritagization process and to show how this reinforced their marginalization. This was largely because of a failure to interrogate my position as a foreign heritage researcher. My focus was on the heritagization process and its effects, rather than on the configurations of batik and environment through which batik has endured. It was not until I returned with an approach that understood heritage as movement in configuration with an environment that I recognized how my journal article contributed to the marginal position of the *batik tulis* artisans. This chapter is still the perspective of a foreign heritage researcher and I have not done the work of establishing relationships and protocols with batik artisans, but this time it offers a fuller perspective on batik, a more critical approach to heritagization and a greater commitment to working toward what Clifford (1997, 217) calls the "utopia in the minor key", the contemporary and situated coming together that, in combination with other events and actions, contributes to social movements and change.

Notes

1 This definition of heritagization has similarities to the focus of early critical writing about heritage, in particular Lowenthal (1998), but also earlier critiques (Hewison 1987; Wright 1985). Importantly, it does not share the condemnation of (and condescension towards) heritage as bad history of some of these early critical works. For a review of these early approaches and subsequent critiques, please see Mozaffari and Jones (2020).

2 The concept of meshwork is defined and developed in Chapter 3. Following Ingold (2011), I define meshwork as the entangled lines of life, growth and movement that constitute our environments, and with which we interact and are sustained. Defining heritage as movement in configuration with its environment requires a process-oriented approach to things that understands them as continually becoming and as relationally constituted.

3 I draw from a number of sources for my short history. These include conventional accounts from within Indonesia (Achjadi 1999b) and from outside (Kerlogue 2004; Wronska-Friend 2016) and critical engagements (Kitley 1986, 1992; Legêne and Waaldijk 2001). The writings of people who have studied batik making are particularly important for documenting the batik process (which extends well beyond applying wax to cloth) and the embodied and affective aspects of batik making (Hodge 1999; Joseph 1987; Kitley 1986). Studies of batik production in particular locations are also important for documenting the importance of status differences and local histories for batik production (Brenner 1998; Joseph 1987). Hochstrasser's (2011) article on European batik was

also important for documenting the emergence and characteristics of this style of batik, and the effects of heritagization on its commemoration.

4 For instance, the *Bali – behind the scenes* exhibition at the Tropenmuseum in 2019–20 combines 250 objects from the museum's collection with the works of contemporary artists and accounts of Balinese residents to address pressures, changes and resilience in Bali (https://www.tropenmuseum.nl/en/bali-exhibition).

5 My reading of the relationship between batik cloth and Dutch museums owes much to Susan Legene and Berteke Waaldijk's (2001) book chapter, which traces the shifting tripartite relationship between colonial policy and programs, Netherlands museums and artists, and Javanese batik.

6 Suzanne Brenner's (1998) book *The Domestication of Desire* is an excellent and detailed account of the history and social relations of Laweyan.

7 Joseph's (1987) thesis provides the most comprehensive overview of labor relations and the putting-out system in Javanese batik production. More recently, work on labor relations in Indonesian cloth production has been undertaken by Markus Hassler (2005) in Bali. There has been a focus on clustering in urban areas (Handayani et al. 2012; Mirsa et al. 2016; Phelps and Wijaya 2020) that all document the continued importance of the putting-out system, indicating that there has been little change in labor relations with rural batik artisans since the time of Joseph's thesis. Brenner (1998) documents labor relations through an examination of entrepreneurs in Laweyan as part of her broader anthropological study of Laweyan. De Kat Angelino's (1930) *Batikrapport* provides a picture of practices in the batik industry in the 1920s.

8 See Legêne and Waaldijke (2001) for an analysis of Rouffaer's importance to colonial batik research and museums, and his perspectives on batik and batik artisans.

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Conclusion

How to make heritage studies about the care of precious things

Tod Jones

Why we should understand heritage as movement

The purpose of this book has been to articulate a conceptual approach to heritage that allows for a full accounting of the heritage processes that shape and maintain heritage phenomena. I have used emerging approaches to heritage as well as concepts from environmental humanities and cultural geography, such as scale, territory, meshwork and entanglement, to recognize there are many regimes of care that allow heritage phenomena to endure. This pluralism moves this approach beyond a narrow focus on humans and informs my definition of heritage as the movement of lives and forces (heritage processes) where the configuration of phenomena with its environment is entwined with the retention of history, memory and community. Heritage work is the practical engagement with the processes, politics and ethics of understanding and influencing these movements. Heritage conservation in this approach is one way and only a part of the configurations through which heritage phenomenon endures.

A key contribution this book makes to heritage studies is to expand what is considered heritage processes and understand the relationship between heritage processes and heritage phenomena. Heritage processes are not just human processes, but are also physical and ecological, so should include the impacts of and on plants and animals, and forces like wind and water. Heritage processes also need to include all of the ways that humans care for heritage phenomena. Unsettling the binaries of heritage studies and management is essential for engaging with other understandings of management, such as Aboriginal advocacy for their communities and countries and revising concepts accordingly (as is demonstrated in Chapter 7 on Badimia advocacy and cultural landscapes).

The principle of prioritizing the relationship between a heritage phenomenon and its immediate environment reinforces attention to the multiple ways in which different groups care for heritage. Emotion and affect are essential to these relationships, including developing the skills to create and maintain heritage and continuing the moral responsibility communities feel about their precious places and things. Addressing the complex relationships between heritage phenomena and their environments will require a reconsideration of heritage concepts, such as the

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consideration of artifacts and sites in Chapters 5 and 6. Shifting technologies can change relationships and movements, changing the configuration of a heritage phenomenon and its environment, as was demonstrated in the analysis of social media in Chapters 8 and 9. Attention to the immediate environment of a heritage phenomenon needs to begin with the physical forces, acts, processes and technologies that both decay and maintain it as a starting point for heritage analysis, and a basis for a full accounting of heritage management.

The politics and ethics of a heritage configuration affect the phenomenon and its environment. Contemporary heritage management and studies require careful consideration to heritage processes and the ethics of advocacy for or against changing heritage access or management. Understanding ontological differences between groups who manage heritage will be the basis for developing the capacities and processes for care-full collaborations and the vision for heritage studies I propose in the next section. I introduced the concept of "regimes of care" in Chapter 3 to recognize that there are many groups caring for heritage in many ways. The dangers of a lack of attention to the ethics of how heritage is maintained in a regime of care is that heritage analysis and management can ignore or even support the ongoing oppression of skilled practitioners that ultimately undermine essential heritage processes, such as in the case of batik cloth analyzed in Chapter 10.

A proposition for heritage studies

My final proposal is to use these and similar concepts to make heritage studies the study of the care of precious things. To do this, heritage studies cannot only be the study of conservation in museums and listed places. Rather it has to be the study of any regime of care that allows heritage phenomena to endure or prevents heritage phenomena from enduring. It would place heritage conservation alongside, rather than above, other regimes of care. An important focus of heritage studies would be on how to strengthen and assist these other regimes through alignments that support the relational accountability of heritage practitioners for the interests of different groups. The process of heritagization would be an element of the study of the care of precious things. It would interrogate inputs from bodies from all the levels that drive and support different conservation practices. Such an approach is already emerging in places where there are strong accountabilities for heritage within communities. This is occurring among Indigenous communities in settler colonial societies, and where there are heritage practitioners who are committed to reflexive and locally engaged conservation practices.

Understanding heritage as movement in configuration with an environment draws attention to all of the lives and forces that shape, locate and maintain heritage. Importantly, taking this position allows heritage management and research to respond positively and proactively to the expansion of heritage recognition. Rather than policing boundaries around copying, correct treatment or heritage typologies, a proactive exploration of heritage as movement allows for more engagements and openings. It considers all configurations that enable heritage phenomena to endure as aspects of heritage management that I suggest can be

analyzed through the conceptual tool of scale. This includes specific and conscious engagements with the big processes and changes that communities face, from colonialism to capitalism and climate change. It demands an accounting for the institutional arrangements that sustain heritage phenomena, whether these be inside or outside heritage institutions. We need to push further toward heritage approaches that prioritize careful and contemporary collaborations as only these approaches will foreground the capacities to engage with plural and deep pasts, once overlooked and ignored by modernity, but now essential to the negotiation of presents and futures.

Appendix

Information on research methods used in *Heritage is Movement*

Tod Jones

Over a ten-year journey, my co-authors and I undertook the fieldwork that informs this book. Table A.1 provides an overview of the fieldwork that was undertaken and attaches a code to each interview that I use as shorthand in the book within footnotes. Many chapters draw from research that has been published elsewhere. *Heritage is Movement* does not provide detail on research methods. However, more detailed descriptions of the research methods can be found in the publications listed in this appendix.

Chapter 1 is based on participant observation through fieldnotes and reflection, including discussions with Paul Edwards. Chapters 2 and 3 are desk-based studies of existing literature.

Chapter 4 on scale drew from interviews, fieldnotes and desktop research described in Jones, Jones and Hughes (2016).

Chapters 5 and 6 are based on fieldtrips to East Java in 2016 and 2017 where we undertook interviews, fieldnotes on visits to shrines and other sites, and undertook a literature review. This is described in Jones and Perkasa (2019).

Chapter 7 is based on Carol Dowling's experiences working with other Badimia leaders in Badimia Bandi Barna and a literature review of Badimia Bandi Barna plans and newsletters. Carol and I wrote this together and prepared a presentation over the course of five meetings in 2022.

Chapter 8 is based on interviews, a survey, analysis of a Facebook page, two fieldtrips to Yogyakarta in 2014 and 2016, and Transpiosa Riomandha's recollections and photographs provided in his account of a Bol Brutu road trip to Cirebon in Chapter 9. These methods, with the exception of Riomandha's account of his road trip that was written in 2021, are described in Jones, Riomandha and Salim (2020).

Chapter 10 is an extensive desktop study that also draws from interviews and fieldtrips undertaken in 2012 and 2015. The research methods can be found in Jones (2018).

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Table A.1 Interview details and codes for heritage research undertaken for *Heritage is Movement*

Research focus	*Year*	*Location*	*Group*	*Codes*
Intangible cultural heritage program	2012	Jakarta	Directorate of Culture	1A, 1D, 1G
Intangible cultural heritage program	2012	Jakarta	National Committee for UNESCO, Indonesia	1B, 1C
Intangible cultural heritage program	2012	Jakarta	UNESCO, Jakarta	1E
Intangible cultural heritage program	2012	Jakarta	Cultural NGO	1F
Intangible cultural heritage program	2012	Paris	UNESCO	1G
Heritage activism	2014	Yogyakarta	Bol Brutu	2A, 2B, 2C, 2D
Intangible cultural heritage program	2015	Solo	Batik Manufacturers in Solo	1H
Intangible cultural heritage program	2015	Solo	Heritage NGOs	1J, 1K, 1L
Intangible cultural heritage program	2015	Solo	Academics	1M, 1N
Intangible cultural heritage program	2015	Solo	Cultural Neighbourhood Organisation	1O
Heritage activism	2016	Yogyakarta	Bol Brutu	2E, 2F, 2D, 2H
Majapahit heritage regulation	2016	Trowulan	BPCB, East Java	4A, 4B, 4C
Majapahit heritage regulation	2016	Trowulan	Pesantren	4O
Majapahit heritage regulation	2016	Trowulan	Artists	4D, 4E, 4F, 4G
Majapahit heritage regulation	2016	Trowulan	Guides	4H
Majapahit heritage regulation	2016	Trowulan	Local politician	4I
Majapahit heritage regulation	2016	Trowulan	Traditional Brick Manufacturer	4J
Majapahit heritage regulation	2016	Trowulan	Caretaker	4K, 4L
Majapahit heritage regulation	2016	Surabaya	Provincial administration	4M
Heritage activism	2016	Yogyakarta	NGOs	4N
Majapahit heritage regulation	2017	Trowulan	Caretaker	5A
Majapahit heritage regulation	2017	Trowulan	BPCB, East Java	5B
Majapahit heritage regulation	2017	Trowulan	Artists	5C, 5D, 5E
Heritage activism	2017	Yogyakarta	Universities	5F, 5G
Heritage activism	2017	Trowulan	NGOs	5H
Heritage activism	2017	Yogyakarta	NGOs	5G, 5I, 5J

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Heritage is Movement

This book presents new ways of understanding heritage and heritage work. It addresses the ways physical processes of creation, maintenance and decay are entangled with cultural and political processes of management, access and care.

The book analyzes a critical practice of heritage work oriented to recognizing and collaborating with diverse knowledge holders and their practices of caring for heritage. This requires rethinking accepted heritage concepts, such as heritage management, artifact, site and the definition of heritage itself. The book presents an engaging and applied approach to this task through examples that include Majapahit statues and temples in Indonesia, skating in London, an online heritage movement, building bivouacs in Australia, First Nations advocacy for Country and batik collections in the Netherlands.

Offering a new model for collaborative heritage research and analysis, this book will be of interest to researchers, students and practitioners. Drawing from developments from the posthumanities, cultural geography and critical heritage studies, it presents a collaborative mode of scholarship and writing that considers how people care for and use the things history leaves them.

Tod Jones is an Associate Professor in Geography in the School of Design and Built Environment, Curtin University. He has worked on cultural policy and heritage issues in Indonesia and Australia since 1999. His current research brings cultural and political geography concepts and tools in dialogue with heritage concepts and frameworks to issues of heritage management. He has worked with Aboriginal communities across Western Australia on community cultural development initiatives, and with heritage groups in Java and Sumatra in Indonesia. He has published two books: *Culture, power and authoritarianism in the Indonesian state* (2013) and a co-authored collection with Ali Mozaffari, *Heritage movements in Asia* (2020). He has published articles in the leading heritage studies journals, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, *Heritage and Society*, and *International Journal of Cultural Policy*. Altogether he has been leading author or a contributor on 29 peer-reviewed journal articles and 11 book chapters. His research on Indonesian cultural policy was debated in the Indonesian parliament and influenced the new national cultural policy legislation.

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